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NARRAGANSETT CLUB.

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(First Series.)

VOLUME I.



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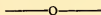
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PUBLISHERS' PREFACE.



IN the preparation of this volume for the public, the NARRAGANSETT CLUB have endeavored, as far as their plan of publication and other circumstances would permit, to reproduce accurate *fac-similes* of the original editions.

Desirous of preserving the written thoughts, and in a measure of promulgating the opinions of the founders of Rhode Island, they have endeavored to lighten the labors of the historian and at the same time satisfy the fastidiousness of any bibliophile.

By restricting the publication to a limited edition they feel that they have added a permanency to their works, which would not have been secured by a popular and cheaper edition, the reduction in cost lessening also the inducements to preservation.

Two of the tracts contained in this volume are of that controversial character common to the publications of our early colonial period. The "Letter" of "Master Cotton," though not strictly to be included in the Narragansett Bibliography, has been reprinted, to avoid any appearance of par-

tiality, and to allow the arguments of the two celebrated divines to be fairly weighed. The reply of Mr. Cotton will be found in the second volume.

The plan adopted by the Club provides for a complete index at the end of each series of their publications. The numbers at the inner upper corners constitute the consecutive pagination of the volume. Those on the outer corners are for the separate tracts. The page numbers of the original editions are included in brackets.

NOVEMBER, 1866.



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A
BIOGRAPHICAL INTRODUCTION
TO THE
WRITINGS OF ROGER WILLIAMS,
BY
REUBEN ALDRIDGE GUILD.

BIOGRAPHICAL INTRODUCTION.



ROGER WILLIAMS, says Professor Ger-
vinus, in his recent INTRODUCTION TO THE
HISTORY OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY,¹
founded, in 1636, "a small new society in
Rhode Island, upon the principles of entire
liberty of conscience, and the uncontrolled
power of the majority in secular concerns.

* * * The theories of freedom in church and state,
taught in the schools of philosophy in Europe, were here
brought into practice in the government of a small commu-
nity. It was prophesied that the democratic attempts to
obtain universal suffrage, a general elective franchise, annual
parliaments, entire religious freedom, and the Miltonian
right of schism, would be of short duration. But these insti-
tutions have not only maintained themselves here, but have
spread over the whole union. They have superseded the
aristocratic commencements of Carolina and of New York,
the high-church party in Virginia, the theocracy in Massa-
chusetts, and the monarchy throughout America; they have
given laws to one quarter of the globe, and, dreaded for their
moral influence, they stand in the back-ground of every
democratic struggle in Europe."

¹ Translated from the German. Post 8vo. Lond. H. G. Bohn. 1853, page 65.

The quotation which we have here introduced, taken from the work of a distinguished European scholar and statesman, is a just tribute to Roger Williams, as the founder of a democratic form of government in the new world. Nearly two centuries have now elapsed since he passed from earth. His name throughout New England has become a household word, and everywhere he is regarded as the great apostle of civil and religious freedom. But no monument has ever been erected to his memory;—no “storied urn” or sculptured marble points the stranger to his final resting place, or commemorates in fitting terms his virtues and his deeds. Even his published works, embodying the principles which have changed public opinion and revolutionized society, have, from their excessive rarity, almost ceased to be extant. The student searches in vain for their titles in the catalogues of our public libraries, while the very existence of most of them is ignored in our ordinary bibliographical dictionaries and manuals.

Within a comparatively recent period, complete copies of the original editions of his works have been collected in the city which he founded, and where he spent the greater part of his life. They now grace the library shelves of a well known merchant, distinguished for his zeal and enterprise in matters of this kind; and they enrich the literary treasures of the University, which overlooks “the spot where the wandering exile pitched his tent.” To reproduce these works in an enduring form, and thus transmit them to posterity, together with his collected letters, now scattered about, or published in various historical series or volumes, is surely an undertaking worthy of the attention of the sons of Rhode Island. We enter upon the editorial duties of the task to which we are invited with many misgivings, conscious of imperfect

qualifications, and burdened with professional labors and cares, yet cherishing the hope that our humble endeavors to perpetuate the name of the founder of the State, will be received with favor by a generous public.

The life of Williams has been fully illustrated by his biographers, and by the various historians of the period in which he lived. Knowles, in his comprehensive "Memoir," published in 1834, Gammell, in his very readable "Life," published ten years later, Underhill, in his "Biographical Introduction" to the "Bloudy Tenent," republished by the "Hanserd Knollys Society" in 1848, Elton, in his excellent "Life," published in 1852, Staples, in his "Annals of Providence," and Arnold, in his elaborate "History of Rhode Island," have placed on record nearly all that we can now probably know of the personal history of this distinguished man. The compiling, therefore, of a brief sketch of the leading events in his remarkable career, will be comparatively an easy task. In doing this we gratefully acknowledge our indebtedness to our predecessors, and freely avail ourselves of their labors.

According to the traditions that have been preserved concerning him, Roger Williams was born in the year 1599,¹ in an obscure country parish, amid the mountains of Wales.

¹ This is the date given by all the biographers of Williams except Dr. Elton, who is of the opinion that he was born in 1606. This latter date, however, hardly agrees with an expression made by Williams himself, in a letter dated July 21, 1679, which we find published in Backus's History of New England, (vol. 1, page 421.) "Being now," he says, "near to fourscore years of age." He would hardly have used this expression had he been but seventy-three years old. In a letter to John Winthrop,

written in 1632, he states that he had been "persecuted in and out of" his "father's house these twenty years;" and also, if we rightly interpret his meaning, that he was at the time of writing the above, "upwards of thirty years" of age. Adopting Dr. Elton's date, he would at this time have been but twenty-six years old.—See Elton's Life, pp. 9-13; also Arnold's History of Rhode Island, vol. 1, pp. 47-50, and Mass. Hist. Collections, 4th series, vol. 6, pp. 184-5.

No allusion to his parents, so far as we know, is found in any of his writings; but he has left on record a single fact respecting his early years, which, from the want of other information, is of great value. In the last of his published works, "George Fox digg'd out of his Burrowes," he says, "From my childhood, now about three score years, the father of lights and mercies toucht my soul with a love to himself, to his only begotten, the true Lord Jesus, to his holy Scriptures, &c." It is evident, from this passage, taken in connection with other circumstances, that his parents were religious, and that he was brought up by them in the fear of God, and taught to study and reverence the Bible as the book of books, and the only foundation for religious belief and practice.

From his birthplace in Wales, we trace him to London, where his remarkable skill as a reporter gained him the favorable notice of the first lawyer of the age. In a note appended by Mrs. Sadleir, the daughter of Sir Edward Coke, to one of Williams's letters to herself, she says: "This Roger Williams, when he was a youth, would, in a short-hand, take sermons and speeches in the Star Chamber, and present them to my dear father. He, seeing so hopeful a youth, took such liking to him that he sent him to Sutton's Hospital." It was a propitious circumstance that rendered the author of the "Bill of Rights," and the defender of the Commons, a benefactor of the youth destined to become the advocate of free principles in the new world.

The records of Sutton's Hospital, London, — now called the Charter House — furnish, says Elton, no other particulars than the following: "That Roger Williams was elected a scholar of that Institution June 25, 1621, and that he

1 Elton, page 108.

obtained an Exhibition July 9, 1624." This magnificent institution was founded by Sir Thomas Sutton, the wealthiest merchant of his day, in 1611, as an Hospital, Chapel and School; which Fuller calls "the masterpiece of Protestant English charity." It is under the direction of sixteen Governors, who generally comprise the leading officers of State. The pensioners of the Hospital are eighty in number, who each have a separate apartment, with proper attendance, and are allowed about twenty-five pounds a year for clothes, &c. The number of its scholars is forty-four. They receive an excellent education, as the many distinguished men it has sent forth, from the beginning down to the present time, may testify. These scholars, when properly qualified, are sent to the University, where twenty-nine exhibitions, of the value of eighty pounds per annum, are provided for their special benefit.¹

Upon the completion of his preparatory studies Williams was admitted to one of the Universities, but whether Oxford or Cambridge cannot now be positively ascertained. Dr. Elton endeavors to show, from the records of the former University, that he was entered at Jesus College, April 30, 1624. The age, however, eighteen, as given in the records quoted, does not agree with the generally acknowledged date of his birth. Wood, in his "Athenæ Oxonienses," says, moreover, "But of what University the said Williams was, if of any, I know not." In the absence of all positive evidence, it might be thought more probable that he received his education at Cambridge, where Coke himself graduated, and where, indeed, Puritan sentiments found a more congenial home.² Arnold, in his history of Rhode Island, is decided

¹ Knight's London, vol. 2, pp. 113-132.

² Dyer's History of the University and Colleges of Cambridge, vol. 2.

on this point. From personal investigations, as he states, he is satisfied that Williams was matriculated a pensioner of Pembroke College, July 7, 1625, and that he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts in January, 1626.¹ The evidence adduced in support of this, to our mind at least, appears conclusive. That he received a liberal and thorough education, according to the taste of that early period, when logic and the classics were the principal studies pursued, his published writings and his letters abundantly show.

Mr. Williams now commenced the study of the law under the guidance of his illustrious patron. The providence of God may here be seen in thus leading his mind to an acquaintance with those principles, which were to be so useful to him in future life, as the legislator of an infant colony. He soon, however, relinquished this pursuit and entered upon the study of theology; a study which, to a heart and mind like his, possessed superior attractions. He was admitted to orders in the established church, and assumed, it is said, the charge of a parish, probably in the diocese of the excellent Dr. Williams, then Bishop of Lincoln, who, as is well known, winked at the Nonconformists and Puritans, and spoke with kindness against some of the ceremonies inaugurated by James and his advisers. For this he was afterwards compelled to resign the seals of which he was Lord Keeper, and at length he was fined, suspended and imprisoned.² It was during this period that Williams became acquainted with the leading emigrants to America; and he appears to have been very decided even then in his opposition to the liturgy, the ceremonies, and the hierarchy of the established church. In his "Bloody Tenent yet more Bloody," he says: "Master Cotton may call to mind that

¹ Vol. 1, pp. 47-50.

² Marfden's Early Puritans, p. 386.

the discussor, riding with himself and one other of precious memory, Master Hooker, to and from Sempringham, presented his arguments from Scripture, why he durst not join with them in their use of Common Prayer." This was the celebrated John Cotton, of Boston, who afterwards became the great antagonist of Williams in the discussion of matters pertaining to freedom of conscience. It is probable that it was upon the subject of the grievances of the Puritans, that he had the interview with the King, of which he speaks in his letter to Major Mason.

The year 1630 forms an era in the history of New England. The infatuated Charles had decided on autocratic rule, and the utterance of the most arbitrary principles from the pulpits of the court clergy was encouraged. Doctrines subversive of popular rights were freely taught, and the sermons containing them were published at the King's special command.¹ Laud had recently been placed in the See of London, and the temper of his party had become more persecuting, angry and exclusive.² With zeal and bitter hate he sought to extirpate Puritanism from the Church. The Calvinistic interpretation of the articles was condemned, and Davenant, the learned and exemplary Bishop of Salisbury, was summoned before the Privy Council for maintaining the doctrines of predestination, in a sermon which he had preached before his Majesty at Whitehall. Hall, too, the pious and eloquent Bishop of Exeter, author of "Meditations upon the Old and New Testaments," which still constitute a household volume, was slandered and disgraced for his want of obsequiousness to the Laudian party. The Puritans were Calvinists, while the Churchmen were Arminians; and, as if to give the former proofs of the lengths to which

¹ Underhill, p. 8.

² Marsden's Early Puritans, p. 383.

the persecuting Bishop and his party were prepared to go, Alexander Leighton, a Scotch physician and divine, and father of the celebrated Archbishop of Glasgow, for his "Plea against Prelacy," was, in November of the previous year, committed to prison for life, by the High Commission; degraded from his ministry; fined £10,000; whipped, pilloried, his ears cut off, his nose slit, and his face branded with a hot iron. "Laud," says Neal,¹ "pulled off his cap while this merciless sentence was pronouncing, and gave God thanks for it." From this ecclesiastical and kingly tyranny, Williams, with many others, determined to flee to America. On the 1st of December, accompanied by his wife Mary, a most estimable lady, who, for half a century, shared his changing fortunes, he embarked at Bristol, in the ship *Lyon*, Captain William Peirce. After a very tempestuous passage of nearly ten weeks they arrived at Boston, February 5, 1631.

"He was then," says the historian Bancroft, "but little more than thirty years of age; but his mind had already matured a doctrine which secures him an immortality of fame, as its application has given religious peace to the American world. He was a Puritan, and a fugitive from English persecution; but his wrongs had not clouded his accurate understanding; in the capacious recesses of his mind he had revolved the nature of intolerance, and he, and he alone, had arrived at the great principle which is its sole effectual remedy. He announced his discovery under the simple proposition of the sanctity of conscience. The civil magistrate should restrain crime, but never control opinion; should punish guilt, but never violate the freedom of the soul. The doctrine contained within itself an entire reforma-

¹ History of the Puritans, vol. 2, p. 210.

tion of theological jurisprudence: it would blot from the statute-book the felony of Nonconformity; would quench the fires that persecution had so long kept burning; would repeal every law compelling attendance on public worship; would abolish tithes and all forced contributions to the maintenance of religion; would give an equal protection to every form of religious faith; and never suffer the authority of the civil government to be enlisted against the mosque of the Mussulman or the altar of the fire-worshipper, against the Jewish synagogue or the Roman cathedral."

The arrival of this "godly minister" is duly recorded by Governor Winthrop in his Journal,¹ and appears to have occasioned joy to the churches of the infant Colony. Many of the colonists had known him in England, and so highly did they esteem him for his learning, piety, and gifts, that in a few weeks he was cordially invited to settle in Boston as teacher, Mr. Wilson being about to embark for home. This flattering invitation he declined. In a letter to John Cotton, of Plymouth, forty years afterwards, he says: "Being unanimously chosen teacher at Boston, before your dear father came, divers years, I conscientiously refused, and withdrew to Plymouth, because I durst not officiate to an unseparated people, as upon examination and conference, I found them to be."² So impure did he regard the established church, that he would not join with a congregation, which, although driven into the wilderness by its persecuting spirit, refused to regard its hierarchy and worldly ceremonies as portions of the abominations of Anti-Christ. The cruelties and ecclesiastical oppressions, which he had seen in his

¹ Vol. 1, pp. 41, 42.

² The entire letter, which is very interesting, and characteristic of the au-

thor, may be found in the Proceedings of the Mass. Hist. Soc., 1855-8, pp. 313-16.

native land, aroused his honest indignation, and made him, it appears, a rigid Separatist. He, therefore, accepted an invitation to Salem, and shortly entered upon his duties as teacher, in place of the learned and catholic Higginson, who, it may be added, was in feeble health, and in consequence, had been laid aside from active service. The church with which Williams thus became connected was the oldest in the Massachusetts Colony, having been organized on the 6th of August, 1629, "on principles," says Upham, "of perfect and entire independence of every other ecclesiastical body."¹ It was, for this reason, therefore, eminently congenial to his own independent and fearless nature.

But immediately the civil authority interfered to prevent his settlement, on the principle afterwards established, that "if any church, one or more, shall grow schismatical, rending itself from the communion of other churches, or shall walk incorrigibly and obstinately in any corrupt way of their own, contrary to the rule of the word; in such case, the magistrate is to put forth his coercive power, as the matter shall require."² On the 12th of April, says Governor Winthrop, "at a Court holden at Boston, upon information to the Governor, that they of Salem had called Mr. Williams to the office of teacher, a letter was written from the Court to Mr. Endicott to this effect: That whereas Mr. Williams has refused to join with the congregation at Boston, because they would not make a public declaration of their repentance for having communion with the churches of England, while they lived there; and besides, had declared his opinion that the magistrate might not punish the breach of the Sabbath, nor any other offence that was a breach of the first

¹ Dedication Sermon preached Nov. 16, 1826, p. 52.

² Mather's Magnalia, Book V, Chap. xvii.

table ; therefore they marvelled they would choose him without advising with the Council ; and withal desiring that they would forbear to proceed till they had conferred about it."

What were the views of Mr. Williams on the first of these points cannot now perhaps be fully known. The Puritans of Massachusetts Bay had never formally renounced their connection with the Church of England. Though opposed to a portion of the ritual, and grieved at the corruptions of the mother church, none of them, up to the period of their leaving that country, had become open Separatists ; while some, even at the moment of their departure, had gratefully acknowledged themselves as her children. Cotton Mather relates of Higginson, that when taking the last look at his native shore, in 1629, he exclaimed, "Farewell, dear England! Farewell, the Church of God in England, and all the Christian friends there! We do not go to New England as Separatists from the Church of England, though we cannot but separate from the corruptions in it." Winthrop and his associates, while on board the fleet at Yarmouth, addressed a farewell letter to the "rest of their brethren in and of the Church of England," which is as beautiful in diction as it is admirable for its affectionate pathos.¹ They had, it is true, dissolved all connection with the church at home by coming to this country ; but they had never publicly testified their repentance for the previous existence of such a connection. Cotton, who came to Boston in 1633, and who has been called the "Patriarch of New England," had been for nearly twenty years the rector of the ancient church of St. Botolph's, "perhaps," says Palfrey, "the most superb parish church in England;" and he

¹ Magnalia, Book III, Part II, Chap. I. Neal's History of the Puritans, Vol. 2, p. 206.
² Hutchinson. Vol. I, Append. No. 1.

remembered with pride and affection its stately service. Many good men considered this conformity of the Puritans highly censurable, tending to sanction the corruptions of the Established Church, and her cruelties and oppressions. It is not surprising that Williams, having felt keenly the intolerance of the hierarchy, and being already inclined to the opinions of the Anabaptists, who were open and avowed Separatists, should refuse to join with those who apparently connived at the unscriptural requirements of the Church, and yielded to her arrogant demand for absolute submission.' "My own voluntary withdrawing from all the churches resolved to continue in persecuting the witnesses of the Lord—presenting light unto them—I confess it was my own voluntary act; yea, I hope the act of the Lord Jesus, sounding forth in me the blast, which shall, in his own holy season, cast down the strength and confidence of those inventions of men."²

The main charge contained in the allegations of the Boston Court, the denial of the power of the magistrate to punish men for the neglect or erroneous performance of their duties to God, is one, which, at this day, needs no discussion. Time has wrought out a triumphant vindication of the great principle, both in this country and throughout the civilized world, that man is accountable to his Maker alone for his religious opinions and practices. On this point we may be allowed to quote the language of Savage, in his recent edition of Winthrop.³ "All who are inclined to separate that connection of secular concerns with the duties of religion, to which most governments, in all countries, have been too much disposed, will think this

¹ Elton. Page 16.

Answered, p. 3.

² Cotton's Letter Examined and

³ Vol. I, p. 63.

opinion of Roger Williams redounds to his praise. The laws of the first table, or the four commandments of the decalogue first in order, should be rather impressed by early education than by penal enactments of the legislature; and the experience of Rhode Island and other States of our Union is perhaps favorable to the sentiment of this earliest American reformer. Too much regulation was the error of our fathers, who were perpetually arguing from analogies in the Levitical institutions, and encumbering themselves with the yoke of Jewish customs."

The church at Salem, with the independence which marked its origin, disregarded, it appears, the meditated interference of the General Court, and on the 12th of April, 1631, the same day on which the Court was held, received Mr. Williams as her minister. "She thus," remarks Prof. Knowles, "consulted her duty as well as her true interests. Jesus Christ is the only King and Legislator of his church. He has given her his statute book, and it is as inconsistent with her duty, as it ought to be repugnant to her feelings, to permit any attempt to abridge the rights which her Lord has bestowed on her. The choice of her pastors and teachers is one of her most sacred rights, and most important duties. She is bound to exercise this high privilege, in humble dependence on the teachings of divine wisdom, but with a resolute resistance of attempts, from any quarter, to control her election." It was a violation of this first principle in church organization and government which caused the resistance of Williams to the ecclesiastical powers, and led eventually to his banishment.

To the civil government of the Colony Mr. Williams was willing to yield due submission, but he could not tolerate its interference in matters that pertained solely to the con-

science. On the 18th of the following May, the General Court "ordered and agreed that, for the time to come, no man shall be admitted to the freedom of this body politic, but such as are members of some of the churches within the limits of the same."¹ Thus a theocracy was established. The government belonged to the saints. They alone could rule in the commonwealth, or be capable of the exercise of civil rights. "Not only," says Williams, "was the door of calling to magistracy shut against natural and unregenerate men, though excellently fitted for civil offices, but also against the best and ablest servants of God, except they be entered into church estate."² This, he further adds, "was to pluck up the roots and foundations of all common society in the world, to turn the garden and paradise of the church and saints into the field of the civil state of the world, and to reduce the world to the first chaos or confusion."³ This unwise law the Colony afterwards repealed, because it rendered church membership subservient to political objects, and destroyed the peace and harmony of the government.

The settlement of Mr. Williams at Salem was of short continuance. Disregarding the wishes and advice of the authorities in calling him to be their minister, the church had incurred the disapprobation of the magistrates, and raised a storm of persecution, so that for the sake of peace, he withdrew before the close of summer, and sought a residence at Plymouth, beyond the jurisdiction of Massachusetts Bay. Here, says Governor Bradford, "he was freely entertained among us, according to our poor ability, exercised his gifts among us, and after sometime was admitted a member of the church, and his teaching well approved ;

¹ Palfrey's New England, Vol. 1, p. 345.

² Bloody Tenent of Persecution, Chapters cxv. and cxxxvii.

for the benefit whereof I shall bless God, and am thankful to him ever for his sharpest admonitions and reproofs, so far as they agree with truth." The Pilgrims who came over in the MAYFLOWER, had, from the first, manifested a more liberal spirit than the Puritans who subsequently settled in the Bay. Before they embarked upon their perilous voyage, they had resided in Holland, and had thus become entirely alienated from the established church of England. It is probable that, on this account, the views of the Separatists, were, to say the least, less offensive to them, than to their brethren of Massachusetts. Mr. Williams labored in the ministry of the word at Plymouth two years; but not, it would seem, without proclaiming those principles of freedom, which had already made him an object of jealousy. For, on requesting his dismissal thence back to Salem in the autumn of 1633, we find the Elder, Mr. Brewster, persuading the Plymouth church to relinquish communion with him, lest he should "run the same course of rigid Separation and Anabaptistry which Mr. John Smith, the Se-Baptist at Amsterdam had done." The very mention, says Prof. Gammell, of the name of Anabaptist called up a train of phantoms, that never failed to excite the apprehensions of the early Puritans.

During his residence at Plymouth, Mr. Williams enjoyed favorable opportunities for intercourse with the Indians, who frequently visited that town. It appears, too, that he made excursions among them, to learn their manners and their language, and thus to qualify himself to promote their welfare. His whole life indeed, furnishes evidence of the sincerity of his declaration, in one of his letters: "My soul's desire was, to do the natives good." He became acquainted with Massasoit, the Sachem of the Pokanokets,

and father of the famous Philip. He also formed an intimacy with Canonicus, the Narragansett Sachem. He secured the confidence of these savage chiefs, by acts of kindness, by presents, and, we may add, by studying their language. In a letter written many years afterwards, he says, "God was pleased to give me a painful, patient spirit, to lodge with them in their filthy, smoky holes, even while I lived at Plymouth and Salem, to gain their tongue." In all this the hand of Divine Providence may be clearly seen, in thus fitting him to become an instrument in establishing a new colony, and in preserving New England from the fury of the savages.

Mr. Williams left Plymouth, probably about the end of August, 1633, and returned to Salem to resume his ministerial duties in that place, as an assistant to the Rev. Mr. Skelton, whose declining health unfitted him for his work. Upon the death of Mr. Skelton, in August, 1634, he was regularly ordained as his successor, notwithstanding the opposition of the magistrates. He was highly popular as a preacher, and the people became strongly attached to him and to his ministry. Among his hearers were not a few of the members of the church at Plymouth, who, after ineffectual attempts to detain him there, had transferred their residence to Salem. The original frame work of the meeting house where he preached is still preserved, as an object of interest to the historian and the antiquary. Whoever visits Plummer Hall will find in the rear of that institution, restored as far as possible to its primitive condition, the quaint structure, which, two hundred and thirty years ago, resounded with the eloquence of the great apostle of civil and religious freedom.

"From the period of Mr. Williams's final settlement as

the teacher of the church in Salem, may be dated," says Prof. Gammell,¹ "the beginning of the controversy with the clergy and Court of Massachusetts, which, at length, terminated in his banishment from the Colony. He was surrounded by men, both in ecclesiastical and civil life, whose minds were, as yet, incapable of forming a conception of the great principle of spiritual freedom, which had taken full possession of his soul, and which was now gradually moulding all his opinions, and, by unseen agencies, shaping the destiny, which the future had in store for him. He believed that no human power had the right to intermeddle in matters of conscience; and that neither Church nor State, neither Bishop nor King, may prescribe the smallest iota of religious faith. For this, he maintained, a man is responsible to God alone."

"This principle, now so familiar and well-established, was, in all its applications, entirely at variance with the whole structure of society in the Colony of Massachusetts; and every new assertion of it on the part of Mr. Williams, or of any of the doctrines which he had connected with it, was sure to lead him into new collision with the authorities. Hence it was, that every expression of his opinions seemed to be heresy, and almost every act of his life a protest against the legislation and the customs of the people among whom he lived. His preaching was faithful, his doctrines on all the great essentials of Christian faith were found, and his life was of blameless purity. Yet he was fast falling beneath the ban both of civil and ecclesiastical proscription."

He was "faithfully and resolutely protected," says Upham,²

¹ Life of Roger Williams, pp. 38-39.

² Second Century Lecture of the First Church, page 43.

“by the people of Salem, through years of persecution from without; and it was only by the persevering and combined efforts of all the other towns and churches that his separation and banishment were finally effected.” * * * “They adhered to him long and faithfully, and sheltered him from all assaults. And when at last he was sentenced, by the General Court, to banishment from the Colony, on account of his principles, we cannot but admire the fidelity of that friendship, which prompted many of the members of his congregation to accompany him in his exile, and partake of his fortunes, when an outcast upon the earth.”

Of the true causes which led to this final result, no account, says Elton,¹ can be relied on but that of Governor Winthrop. The other early writers were so influenced by prejudice, that they exhibit a lamentable want of impartiality. Hubbard remarks, “They passed a sentence of banishment against him, as a disturber of the peace, both of the Church and Commonwealth.” Cotton Mather says, “He had a windmill in his head.” All the ministers were convened at the trial of Williams, and they were all opposed to his sentiments. Hubbard and Mather gathered their reports from his opponents. Winthrop, who wrote at the time, has recorded the proceedings in his journal. His account is as follows:—“In April, 1635, the Court summoned Williams to appear at Boston. The occasion was, that he had taught publicly that a magistrate ought not to tender an oath to an unregenerate man; for that we thereby have communion with a wicked man in the worship of God, and

¹ Pages 27-33. The account here given of the banishment of Roger Williams, we have taken mainly from Dr. Elton's recent “Life,” &c. The writer

is impartial in his statements, and has availed himself, as much as possible, of the language of his authorities.

cause him to take the name of God in vain. He was heard before all the ministers and very clearly confuted." Williams in alluding to his trial, has given a different version respecting the force of the arguments which he presented.¹

It appears from a passage in the appendix to the "Hiring Ministry none of Christ's," that he considered taking an oath to be an act of worship; "that a Christian might take one on proper occasions, though not for trivial causes—that an irreligious man could not sincerely perform this act of worship—and that no man ought to be forced to perform this any more than any other act of worship." His singular views of the nature of oaths, it appears, were formed before he left England; probably from having observed the light manner in which they were administered indiscriminately to the pious and profane. In his reply to George Fox, Mr. Williams declares, that he has submitted to the loss of large sums "in the chancery in England," rather than yield to the offensive formality of kissing the Bible, holding up the hand, &c., though he did not object to taking the

¹ In his "Mr. Cotton's Letter Examined and Answered," he says:—"After my public trial and answers at the General Court, one of the most eminent magistrates, whose name and speech may by others be remembered, stood up and spoke: 'Mr. Williams,' said he, 'holds forth these four particulars; First, that we have not our land by patent from the King, but that the natives are the true owners of it, and that we ought to repent of such a receiving it by patent; Secondly, that it is not lawful to call a wicked person to swear, or to pray, as being actions of God's worship; Thirdly,

that it is not lawful to hear any of the ministers of the parish assemblies in England; Fourthly, that the civil magistrate's power extends only to the bodies, and goods, and outward state of men, &c.' I acknowledge the particulars were rightly summed up, and I also hope, that, as I then maintained the rocky strength of them TO MY OWN AND OTHER CONSCIENCES' SATISFACTION, so, through the Lord's assistance, I shall be ready for the same grounds not only to be bound and banished, but to die also in New England, as for most holy truths of God in Christ Jesus."

oath without them ; and the judges, he says, "told me they would rest in my testimony and way of swearing, but they could not dispense with me without an act of parliament."

There is reason to believe, however, that Williams's offence respecting oaths consisted not so much in his abstract objections to their use, as in his opposition to what is known by the name of the "Freeman's Oath." "The magistrates and other members of the General Court," says Mr. Cotton, "upon intelligence of some episcopal and malignant practices against the country, made an order of Court to take trial of the fidelity of the people, not by imposing upon them, but by offering to them, an oath of fidelity, that in case any should refuse to take it, they might not trust them with place of public charge and command."¹ This oath virtually transferred the obligations of allegiance from the king to the government of Massachusetts. Mr. Cotton says that the oath was only *offered*, not imposed ; but it was, by a subsequent act of the Court, enforced on every man of sixteen years of age and upwards, upon the penalty of his being punished, in case of refusing to take it, at the discretion of the Court.² Mr. Williams opposed the oath, as contrary to the charter, inconsistent with the duty of British subjects, and with his great principle of unfettered religious liberty. His opposition was so determined, that "the Court was forced to desist from that proceeding."

The controversy between Mr. Williams and the civil and ecclesiastical heads of the Colony was becoming, every day, more violent. The magistrates enacted a law, requiring every man to attend public worship, and to contribute to its support, which was denounced by Williams as a violation

¹ "Tenent Washed," pp. 28-29.

² Backus, vol. 1, p. 62.

of natural rights. "No one," said he, "should be bound to maintain a worship against his own consent."

In July, 1635, he was again summoned to Boston, to answer to the charges brought against him at the General Court, which was then in session. He was accused of maintaining the following dangerous opinions: — "First, That the magistrate ought not to punish the breach of the first table, otherwise than in such cases as did disturb the civil peace. Secondly, That he ought not to tender an oath to an unregenerate man. Thirdly, That a man ought not to pray with such, though wife, child, &c. Fourthly, That a man ought not to give thanks after sacrament, nor after meat, &c." The ministers were requested by the magistrates to be present on this occasion, and to give their advice. They "professedly declared," that Mr. Williams deserved to be banished from the Colony for maintaining the doctrine, "that the civil magistrate might not intermeddle even to stop a church from heresy and apostasy;" and that the churches ought to request the magistrates to remove him.

The first two of the above charges we have already considered. The reader will observe that Governor Winthrop has candidly acknowledged, that Roger Williams allowed it to be right for the magistrate to punish breaches of the first table, when they disturbed the civil peace — a fact which abundantly proves that he fully admitted the just claims of civil government.

The third charge — admitting it to be an accurate expression of the views which he held — shows that he carried to an extreme an objection arising from the practice in England, where many who united in the petitions in the Book of Common Prayer were notoriously profligate.² Williams's

¹ Winthrop, vol. 1, p. 162.

² Knowles, p. 69.

own statement of the opinions he entertained on two of the above charges was, "that it is not lawful to call a wicked person to swear, or to pray, as being actions of God's worship."¹

With respect to the fourth charge—"that a man ought not to give thanks *after* sacrament, nor *after* meat"—it may be remarked that Roger Williams, in this opinion, anticipated the practice of many enlightened Christians of the present day, who consider it the most scriptural.

It may now almost excite a smile that charges such as these should be brought against a man as *crimes*, before a civil tribunal.² When Williams was summoned before the General Court, there is no evidence that there was any examination of witnesses, or any hearing of counsel. His "opinions were adjudged by all, magistrates and ministers, to be erroneous and very dangerous;" and, after long debate, "time was given to him, and the church at Salem, to con-

¹ Cotton's Letter Examined and Answered, Chap. 3.

² Palfrey, in his recent "History of New England," says, "he was not charged with heresy. The questions which he raised, and by raising which he provoked opposition, were questions relating to political rights and to the administration of government." * * * "For his busy disaffection he was punished, rather he was disabled for the mischief it threatened, by banishment from the jurisdiction." Vol. 1, pp. 414 and 418. To every candid person it must, we think, be apparent, that the true cause for the banishment of Williams, may be found, not in his opposition to government, but in the great doctrine of which his whole life was an illustration, that THE CIVIL

POWER HAS NO JURISDICTION OVER THE CONSCIENCE. In his "Mr. Cotton's Letter Examined and Answered," speaking of the corrupt doctrines which his opponent charged upon him, as tending "to the disturbance of both civil and holy peace," Williams says: "They were publicly summed up and charged upon me, and yet none of them tending to the breach of holy or civil peace, OF WHICH I HAVE EVER DESIRED TO BE UNFEIGNEDLY TENDER, acknowledging the ordinance of magistracy to be properly and adequately fitted by God to preserve the civil state in civil peace and order, as he hath also appointed a spiritual government and governors in matters pertaining to his worship and the consciences of men."

sider of these things till the next General Court, and then either to give satisfaction to the Court, or else to expect the sentence." "The interval," says Prof. Gammell, "we may readily imagine, was a period of no common excitement among the churches and towns of Massachusetts Bay. The contest was one that could not fail to awaken the deepest interest among men entertaining views of government and religion like those prevalent among the early Puritans. On one side was arrayed the whole power of the civil government, supported by the united voice of the clergy, and by the general sentiment of the people; on the other, was a single individual, a minister of the gospel, of distinguished talents and of blameless life, who yet had ventured to assert the freedom of conscience, and to deny the jurisdiction of any human authority in controlling its dictates or decisions. The purity of the churches, and the cause of sound doctrine, were thought to be in peril, and all waited with eager expectation to know the issue of this first schism that had sprung up among the Pilgrim bands of New England."

Three days after the session of the Court above mentioned, as Winthrop informs us, the "Salem men had preferred a petition, at the last General Court, for some land in Marblehead Neck, which they did challenge as belonging to their town; but because they had chosen Mr. Williams their teacher, while he had stood under question of authority, and so offered contempt to the magistrates, &c., their petition was refused. * * * Upon this, the church at Salem write to other churches to admonish the magistrates of this as a heinous sin, and likewise the deputies; for which, at the next General Court, their deputies were not received until they should give satisfaction about

the letter.”¹ Thus they refused to Salem a civil right, as a mode of punishing the church for adhering to their pastor. Such an act of flagrant injustice forcibly illustrates the danger of a union between the civil and ecclesiastical power! After the banishment of Williams, the land in question was granted to the people of Salem, but the postponement was evidently designed to induce them to consent to his removal. This attack upon civil liberty induced Williams, in conjunction with his church, to write “Letters of Admonition unto all the Churches whereof any of the magistrates were members, that they might admonish the magistrates of their injustice;” and when the churches, in consequence of the threatening of the magistrates, recanted, he wrote a letter to his own church, exhorting them to withdraw communion from these churches.

These proceedings of Williams and his church, were followed by another atrocious violation of their rights. The deputies of Salem were deprived of their seats until apology was made; and the principal deputy, Mr. Endicott, was imprisoned, for justifying the letter of Williams. The records of the Court, also contain the following remarkable decree, which illustrates the inquisitorial spirit of that tribunal: “Mr. Samuel Sharpe is enjoined to appear at the next particular Court, to answer for the letter that came from the church at Salem, as also to *bring the names of those that will justify the same*; or else to acknowledge his offence, under his own hand for his own particular.”²

The next General Court was held in October, 1635, when Mr. Williams was again summoned for the last time, “all the ministers in the Bay being desired to be present;” and “Mr. Hooker was chosen to dispute with him, but could

¹ Winthrop, vol. 1, p. 167, note.

² Savage's Winthrop, vol. 1, p. 167, note.

not reduce him from any of his errors. So, the next morning, the Court sentenced him to depart out of our jurisdiction within six weeks, all the ministers, save one, approving the sentence.”¹ The act of banishment, as it stands upon the Colonial Records, is in these words:—“Whereas Mr. Roger Williams, one of the elders of the Church of Salem, hath broached and divulged new and dangerous opinions against the authority of magistrates; as also writ letters of defamation, both of the magistrates and churches here, and that before any conviction, and yet maintaineth the same without any retraction; it is, therefore, ordered that the said Mr. Williams shall depart out of this jurisdiction within six weeks now next ensuing, which, if he neglect to perform, it shall be lawful for the governor and two of the magistrates to send him to some place out of this jurisdiction, not to return any more without license from the court.” This cruel and unjustifiable sentence was passed on the third of November.² Neal, in his History of New England, acknowledges that on the final passing of the act, “the whole town of Salem was in an uproar, for he was esteemed an honest, disinterested man, and of popular talents in the

¹ Winthrop, vol. 1, p. 171.

² “Perfect unity of faith was not long preserved in the Massachusetts Colony, notwithstanding the banishment of Roger Williams; heresies will abound, where differences of opinion are deemed heresies. Unity of faith generally consists in identity of verbal propositions rather than in identity of belief. In 1637, a year or two after his departure, a Synod of the Congregational Churches of the Colony was convened at Cambridge, which soon enumerated, debated, and condemned eighty-two heresies, and, like

other Synods, denied all mercy to those supposed to embrace these errors, both in this world and in the world to come. The subjects of these sharp contentions and keen animosities consisted of fine spun subtleties, and useless metaphysical niceties, from the knowledge, belief, or disbelief of which, men could be made neither wiser nor better. Many worthy heretics, who could not understand what was intelligible, or believe what was incredible, were obliged to take refuge in Rhode Island.” Upham’s Dedication Sermon, preached Nov. 16, 1826, p. 54.

pulpit." His most bitter opponents confessed that, both at Plymouth and Salem, he was respected and beloved as a pious man and an able minister.

The health of Mr. Williams was greatly impaired by his severe trials and excessive labors, and he received permission to remain at Salem till Spring. But complaints were soon made to the Court that he would not refrain, *in his own house*, from uttering his opinions—that many people, "taken with an apprehension of his godliness," resorted there to listen to his teachings—that he had drawn above twenty persons to his opinion—and that he was preparing to form a plantation about Narragansett Bay.

This information led the Court to resolve to send him to England, by a ship then lying in the harbor ready for sea. On the 11th of January, he received another summons to attend the Court assembled at Boston, but he refused to obey; his answer was conveyed to the magistrates by "divers of the people of Salem."

The magistrates, determining not to be defeated, immediately sent a small sloop to Salem, with a commission to Captain Underhill to apprehend him and carry him on board the ship about to sail to England; but when the officers "came to his house, they found he had gone three days before, but whither they could not learn."

It was about the middle of January, 1636, the coldest month of a New England winter, that he left his home and loved ones to escape the warrant for his arrest. The late Hon. Job Durfee in his "Whatcheer,"² has, with a poet's license, graphically described some of the scenes relating to this remarkable event.

¹ Winthrop, vol. 1, p. 175.

² The London Eclectic Review for July, 1838, contains an eulogistic critique

on this poem, from the pen of John Foster, a few stanzas of which poem may with propriety be introduced here.

The account of the journey of Mr. Williams through the wilder-ness, and of his subsequent settlement, first at Seekonk, and afterwards at Providence, may best be given in his own words. In a letter to his "honoured deare and antient friend" Major Mason, of Connecticut, which we find published in the first volume of the Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, he says: "When I was unkindly, and unchristianly, as I believe, driven from my house, and land, and wife, and children, in the midst of a New England winter, now about thirty-five years past, at Salem, that ever-

Midwinter reigned; and Salem's infant town,	On this drear night was Williams seated
Where late were cleft the forests's skirts away,	by
Showed its low roofs, and from the thatching brown,	His blazing hearth, his family be-
The sheeted ice sent back the sun's last ray;	side,
The school-boys left the slippery hillock's crown,	And from his comfort often burst the sigh,
So keen the blast came o'er the eastern bay.	As still her task of needle-work she plied;
And the pale sun in vapors thick went down,	And, from the lashes of her azure eye,
And the glassed forest cast a sombre frown.	She often brushed the starting tear aside—
	At spring's approach they savage wilds must try:
	Such was the sentence of stern bigotry.
The busy house-wife guarded well the door,	Beside the good man lay his Bible's fair
That night against the gathering winter storm—	Broad open page upon the accustomed stand,
Did the rude walls of all the cot explore	And many a message had he noted there,
Where'er the snow-gust might a passage form;	Of Israel wandering the wild wastes of sand,
And to the couch of age and childhood bore	And each assurance had he marked with care,
With anxious care the mantle thick and warm;	Made by Jehovah of the promised land;
And then of fuel gathered ample store,	And from the sacred page he learned to dare
And bade the blaze up the rude chimney roar.	The exile's fate in wilder-ness afar.

honored Governor, Mr. Winthrop, privately wrote to me to steer my course to the Narragansett Bay and Indians, for many high and heavenly and public ends, encouraging me, from the freeness of the place from any English claims or patents. I took his prudent motion as a hint and voice from God, and, waiving all other thoughts and motions, I steered my course from Salem—though in winter snow, which I feel yet—unto these parts, wherein I may say *Peniel*, that is, I have seen the face of God.

Whilst pondered he the sacred volume o'er,	"Till Spring we gave; and thou wast not to teach
And often told, to cheer his consort's breast,	Thy sentenced faith to erring men the while :
How, for their faith, the blest apostles bore	But to depart, or, with submissive speech, Regain the church and leave thy doc- trines vile ;
The exile's wanderings and the dun- geon's pest,	Of this injunction thou committest breach,
A heavy foot approached his humble door, And open wide abrupt an entrance prest ;	And Salem's church dost of her saints despoil :—
And lowered an Elder not unknown be- fore,	Plan, too, 'tis rumored by the mouth of each,
Strong in a church ensphered in civil power.	A State, where Antichrist himself may preach.
"I come," he said, in accents hard and stern,	"From such a state our blessed Elders see
"The Governor and Council's word to bear :	Christ's church, e'en here, may the infection share ;
They are assembled, and with deep con- cern,	'Tis therefore that the Council now decree,
Hear thou abusest their indulgence fair ;	That to the wilderness thou shalt not fare ;
Thy damned creed, with horror do they learn,	But 'tis their mandate, hither sent by me,
Still thou to teach thy visitors dost dare,	That thou to Boston presently re- pair—
Who, smitten with thy sanctity, discern Strange godliness in thee, and from us turn.	A ship there waits, now ready for the sea, Homeward to bear thy herefy and thee."

“I first pitched, and began to build and plant at Seekonk, now Rehoboth; but I received a letter from my ancient friend, Mr. Winslow, then Governor of Plymouth, professing his own and others love and respect to me, yet lovingly advising me, since I was fallen into the edge of their bounds, and they were loth to displease the Bay, to remove but to the other side of the water; and then he said I had the country free before me, and might be as free as themselves, and we should be loving neighbors together. These were the joint understandings of these two wise and eminently Christian Governors, and others, in their day, together with their counsel and advice as to the freedom and vacancy of this place, which in this respect, and many other providences of the Most Holy and Only Wife, I called PROVIDENCE.

“Sometime after, the Plymouth great Sachem, Ousamaquin, upon occasion, affirming that Providence was his land, and therefore Plymouth’s land, and some resenting it, the then prudent and godly Governor, Mr. Bradford, and others of his godly council, answered,—that if, after due examination, it should be found true what the barbarian said, yet having, to my loss of a harvest that year, been now—though by their gentle advice—as good as banished from

* * * *	
Morn came at last; and by the dawning day, Our Founder rose his secret flight to take.	My flint and steel to yield the needful fire— Food for a week, if that be not too long;
* * * *	
“Mary!” (she woke,) “prepare the meet attire, My pocket compass and my mantle strong,	My hatchet too—its service I require To clip my fuel desert wilds among; With these I go to found, in forests drear, A State where none shall persecution fear.”

• Commonly called Massasoit

Plymouth as from the Massachusetts, and I had quietly and patiently departed from them, at their motion, to the place where now I was, I should not be molested and tossed up and down again while they had breath in their bodies. And surely between those, my friends of the Bay and Plymouth, I was sorely tossed, for one fourteen weeks, in a bitter winter season, not knowing what bread or bed did mean, beside the yearly loss of no small matter in my trading with English and natives, being debarred from Boston, the chief mart and port of New England. God knows that many thousand pounds cannot repay the losses I have sustained. It lies upon the Massachusetts and me, yea, and other colonies joining with them, to examine with fear and trembling, before the eyes of flaming fire, the true cause of all my sorrows and sufferings. It pleased the Father of Spirits to touch many hearts dear to him with some relentings; amongst which that great and pious soul, Mr. Winslow, melted, and kindly visited me, at Providence, and put a piece of gold into the hands of my wife for our supply."

In another letter Williams adds:—"It pleased the Most High to direct my steps into this bay, by the loving, private advice of the ever-honored soul, Mr. John Winthrop, the grandfather, who, though he were carried with the stream for my banishment, yet he tenderly loved me to his last breath."

From the foregoing extracts it appears that Williams made his journey from Salem by sea, coasting probably from place to place during the "fourteen weeks" that he "was sorely *tossed*," and holding intercourse with the native tribes whose language, as we have before stated, he had acquired. This is not the view that has generally been entertained, but the various expressions which he himself uses will hardly

admit of any other construction.¹ "Mr. Winthrop," he says, "privately wrote me *to steer my course* to the Narragansett Bay." "*I steered my course* from Salem." Again, "It pleased the Most High to direct my steps *into this bay*." But there is one paragraph in "Cotton's Letter Examined and Answered," which seems conclusive on this point. "Had his soul (Cotton's) been in my soul's case, exposed to the miseries, poverties, necessities, wants, debts, hardships of *sea and land, in a banished condition*, he would, I presume, reach forth a more merciful cordial to the afflicted."

It was in the latter part of June, 1636, as well as can now be ascertained,² that Roger Williams with his five companions, embarked in his canoe at Seekonk, to find at length a resting place on the free soil of Rhode Island. Tradition has preserved the shout of welcome, "*What Cheer, Netop,*" which greeted his landing at "Slate Rock." After exchanging friendly salutations with the Indians they again embarked, and pursuing their course around the headland of Tockwotten, passed what are now called India and Fox points, and entered the Moshassuck river. Rowing up this broad and beautiful sheet of water, then bordered by a dense forest, their attention was attracted by a spring close on the margin of the stream. Here they landed, and upon the slope of the hill that ascends from the river, commenced a settlement, to which, in gratitude to his Supreme Deliverer, Williams gave the name of Providence.³

The owners of the soil where Williams landed were his friends Canonicus and Miantonomi. Their residence was

¹ Underhill, page 24. See also Gen. Fessenden's account, in Benedict's recent History of the Baptists, page 448.

² Arnold, vol. 1, p. 41; Knowles, pp. 102-5.

³ Arnold, vol. 1, p. 40; Gammell, p. 64.

on the island of Canonicut, in the Narragansett Bay, about thirty miles south of Providence. By a deed, dated March 24th, 1638, certain lands and meadows lying "upon the two fresh rivers, called Mooshaufick and Wanafquatucket," which he had previously purchased, were made over to him by these sachems. They also, in consideration of his "many kindnesses and services" to them and their friends, freely gave unto him all the land lying between the above-named rivers and the Pawtuxet.¹ It was an avowed principle with him, that the Indians were the lawful owners of all the lands which they occupied, and in this his first settlement he negotiated accordingly. "I spared," he says, "no cost towards them, and in gifts to Oufamequin (Maffasoit), yea, and all his, and to Canonicus, and all his, tokens and presents many years before I came in person to the Narragansett; and when I came, I was welcome to Oufamequin, and to the old prince Canonicus, who was most shy of all English, to his last breath."² "It was not," he adds, "thousands, nor tens of thousands of money could have bought of him (Canonicus) an English entrance to this Bay."

The lands which Williams thus obtained of the Indians, and which, as he justly remarks, in his touching letter to the town of Providence in 1654, were his "as truly as any man's coat upon his back," he reconveyed to his associates in an agreement made on the 8th of August, 1638, and afterwards confirmed in what appears on record as the "Initial Deed." In this deed he says, "By God's merciful assistance, I was the procurer of the purchase, not by moneys nor payment, the natives being so shy and jealous that moneys could not do it; but by that language, acquaintance,

¹ Staples's Annals of Providence, p. 26. ² Knowles, p. 109.

and favor with the natives, and other advantages which it pleased God to give me; and I also bore the charges and venture of all the gratuities, which I gave to the great sachems, and other sachems round about us, and lay engaged for a loving and peaceable neighborhood with them, to my great charge and travel." "I designed it might be," he adds, "for a shelter for persons distressed of conscience; I then, considering the condition of divers of my distressed countrymen, communicated my said purchase unto my loving friends, John Thockmorton, William Arnold, William Harris, Stukely Westcott, John Green, Senior, Thomas Olney, Senior, Richard Waterman, and others, who then desired to take shelter here with me."

In the month of March, 1639, Mr. Williams, whose tendency to Baptist views had long been apparent, was publicly immersed.² His method of planting a church, now known as the First Baptist Church in Providence, and the mother of eighteen thousand³ churches of like faith and order throughout the Continent, answers perfectly to the precedents that had been established by Smyth and Helwys in Holland. When they and their followers became Baptists, they hesitated to ask baptism of the Dutch Anabaptists, because they did not in all points agree with them in opinion. They therefore instituted baptism among themselves, by authorizing certain of their own number to be administrators of the rite.⁴ So in Rhode Island. Mr. Ezekiel Holliman, a gifted and pious layman, first baptized Mr.

¹ Staples's Annals of Providence, pp. 29-32; Bartlett's Colonial Records, vol. 1, pp. 22-25.

² Winthrop, vol. 1, p. 293. Knowles, Chap. xiii.

³ Eighteen thousand four hundred and

twelve, having, according to the American Baptist Almanac, one million five hundred and seventy-seven thousand and forty-two communicants or members.

⁴ Crosby's History of the English Baptists, vol. 1, pp. 91-8, and 265-76.

Williams, who in turn baptized Holliman, "and some ten more." The names of these twelve original members are given by Benedict in his *History of the Baptists*.¹ Thus was founded the oldest Baptist Church in America,² and, according to Backus, the second in the British empire;³ a church, which, for two hundred and twenty-seven years, has firmly held to the great doctrines of Regeneration, Believer's Baptism, and Religious Liberty; and which, to-day, is regarded with filial pride and veneration, by the large and flourishing denomination it so worthily represents.

Mr. Williams did not long retain his connection with the church, having doubts, it appears, in regard to the validity of this proceeding, in consequence of the absence of "a visible succession" of authorized administrators of the rite of baptism. "In a few months," says Scott, "he broke from the Society, and declared at large the grounds and reason of it,—that their baptism could not be right because it was not administered by an apostle."⁴ He became what, in the history of New England, is denominated a *Seeker*; a term, says Prof. Gammell, not inaptly applied to those who, in

¹ Roger Williams, Ezekiel Holliman, William Arnold, William Harris, Stukly Westcott, John Green, Richard Waterman, Thomas James, Robert Cole, William Carpenter, Francis Weston and Thomas Olney.

² The First Baptist Church in Newport claims to have been founded in 1638, and hence that it is the oldest Baptist Church in America. This claim however seems without foundation. Winthrop settles the fact of the formation of the church at Providence prior to March 16, 1639, while the town of Newport was not founded until May 1, six weeks afterward. See Arnold's *History of*

Rhode Island, vol. 1, pp. 108 and 139-40.

³ According to Crosby, the first distinct Particular Baptist Church in England was formed in London, in 1633, under the pastoral care of the Rev. J. Spillbury. It appears, however, that the distinguishing sentiments of the Baptists had long been prevalent in the kingdom. Taylor, in his *History of the English General Baptists*, (vol. 1, page 97,) states, that they formed distinct societies, and had regular church officers twenty-five years prior to this date.

⁴ Fox's *New England Fire Brand Quenched*. Part II, p. 247.

any age of the church, are dissatisfied with its prevailing creeds and institutions, and seek for more congenial views of truth, or a faith better adapted to their spiritual wants.

Mr. Williams, it is true, soon terminated his ecclesiastical relations; it must not however be inferred that there was ill feeling engendered in consequence, or that he ceased to preach the gospel. He continued on terms of the closest intimacy and friendship with his successor in the ministry, the Rev. Chad Brown, of whom he speaks in one of his letters as "that noble spirit now with God," and on another occasion, as "that holy man." In a letter to Governor Bradstreet, written very near the close of his life, he expresses a desire to have the discourses which he had preached to "the Scattered English at Narragansett, before the war and since," printed either at Boston or Cambridge. That he did not undervalue the benefits of Christian fellowship, although, like his friends Milton and Cromwell, living disconnected with any particular church, and "in doubt unto which to associate" himself, is evident from his writings. In his reply to George Fox, written in 1676, he says: "After all my search, and examinations, and considerations, I said, I do profess to believe that some come nearer to the first primitive churches, and the institutions and appointments of Christ Jesus than others; as in many respects, so in that gallant, and heavenly, and fundamental principle of the true matter of a Christian congregation, flock or society, *viz.* ACTUAL BELIEVERS, TRUE DISCIPLES AND CONVERTS, LIVING STONES, such as can give some account how the grace of God hath appeared unto them, and wrought that heavenly change in them. I professed that if my soul could find rest in joining unto any of the churches professing

1 George Fox digged out of his Burrowes, p. 66.

Christ Jesus now extant, I would readily and gladly do it, yea unto themselves whom I now opposed."

In regard to what is known as the distinguishing sentiments of Baptists at the present day, viz., baptism by immersion, Mr. Williams, it appears, did not change materially his views. In a letter which we find published among the Winthrop papers,¹ dated Narragansett, 9. 10. 1649, he says: "At Seekonk a great many have lately concurred with Mr. John Clarke and our Providence men about the point of a new baptism, and the manner by dipping, and Mr. John Clarke hath been there lately, and Mr. Lucar, and hath dipped them. I BELIEVE THEIR PRACTICE COMES NEARER THE FIRST PRACTICE OF OUR GREAT FOUNDER CHRIST JESUS THAN OTHER PRACTICES OF RELIGION DO." This was written, it will be remembered, more than ten years after the founding of the Church at Providence.

The constantly increasing number of settlers in the new Colony, rendered a form of civil government necessary. The first general rules for their guidance of which we have any knowledge, and which were evidently adopted at a very early period, appear in the form of an agreement between the first settlers and the "new comers," the signers thereto subjecting themselves to obedience, it will be observed, "only in civil things."² In 1640, a model for the peace and government of the town was drawn up, of which the essential principles were democratic. This was in the form of a report prepared for this purpose, and was signed by thirty-nine of the inhabitants, or freemen. One of the prominent articles of this report is in these words, "We agree, as formerly hath been the liberties of the town, so

¹ Massachusetts Historical Collections, Fourth Series, vol. 6, p. 274.

² Staples's Annals of Providence, pp. 39-44.

still, to hold forth liberty of conscience." This genuine Rhode Island doctrine is recognized in the following act, passed at Newport, Sept. 17, 1641, "It is ordered, that the law of the last Court made concerning liberty of conscience in point of doctrine, is perpetuated."² The law here referred to is, "That none be accounted a delinquent for doctrine, provided it be not directly repugnant to the government or laws established."

Thus liberty of conscience was made the basis of all early legislation. In the original code of laws of the Colony, says Judge Story,³ "we read for the first time, since Christianity ascended the throne of the Cæsars, the declaration, that 'conscience should be free, and men should not be punished for worshipping God in the way they were persuaded he required,'—a declaration, which, to the honor of Rhode Island, she has never departed from." To this day the annals of both city and State have remained unfulfilled by the blot of persecution. But not so with the neighboring colonies. They formed in 1643, a League or Confederation for "mutual protection against the depredations committed by the natives," which Rhode Island was not invited to join, and to which she was afterwards refused admittance.³ The authorities of Massachusetts, not satisfied with having driven Williams and others from their territory, laid claim to jurisdiction over the settlements in Narragansett Bay, as in the case of Samuel Gorton,⁴ the history of which forms a melancholy chapter in the annals of New England. For these and other reasons, the inhabitants of

¹ Bartlett's Colonial Records, vol. 1, pp. 113 and 118.

³ Arnold, vol. 1, p. 157.

² Discourse before the Essex Historical Society in Commemoration of the First Settlement of Salem.

⁴ Rhode Island Historical Collections, vol. 2; Arnold, vol. 1, pp. 163-99.

Rhode Island and Providence requested Mr. Williams to proceed to England, and obtain if possible a Charter, defining their rights, and giving them independent authority, freed from the intrusive interference of their neighbors.

Mr. Williams proceeded to New York to embark for England—for notwithstanding his distinguished services in allaying Indian ferocity, and preventing by his personal influence the attacks of the native tribes upon the settlements of Massachusetts, he was not permitted to enter her territories, and to ship from the more convenient port of Boston. He set sail in the month of June, 1643. Of the incidents of his voyage he has left no record. One fact however evinces the activity of his mind, and exemplifies the sentiment so beautifully expressed in one of his works—“One grain of time’s inestimable sand is worth a golden mountain.”¹ His leisure hours, during the voyage, he employed in preparing his “KEY TO THE INDIAN LANGUAGES.” “I drew the materials,” he says, “in a rude lump, at sea, as a private help to my own memory; that I might not, by my present absence, lightly lose what I had so dearly bought in some few years’ hardship and changes among the barbarians.” The book was published soon after his arrival in England, and was the first work ever written on the language and customs of the American Indians.

Mr. Williams arrived at London in the midst of the horrors of a civil war. Hampden, the purest and noblest of the popular leaders, had been stricken down in battle, and the fate of the English monarchy hung suspended in the balance. By an ordinance dated Nov. 2, 1643, the affairs of the colonies were entrusted to a board of Commissioners,

¹ Elton, page 65.

or rather to Robert Earl of Warwick, as Chief Governor and Admiral of the American plantations, who was assisted by five peers and twelve commoners.¹ Prominent among the latter was Sir Henry Vane, the intimate friend of Roger Williams, and his illustrious compeer in advocating the doctrines of religious freedom. He had recently returned from Edinburgh, where he had rendered important service to the parliamentary cause in negotiating the celebrated "Solemn League and Covenant." "He was," says Forster, at this critical period in the nation's history, "the most eminent statesman of an age remarkable for greatness—the acknowledged leader of the English House of Commons." By him Williams was received with a cordial welcome, and presented to the Commissioners, who listened to his views with marked attention, and in the name of the King, granted him the charter he sought, dated March 14, 1644, giving to the "Providence Plantations in the Narragansett Bay," full power to rule themselves by any form of government they preferred.²

With this charter or patent, Mr. Williams returned to America. He arrived in Boston, Sept. 17, 1644, bringing with him a letter³ from some of the leading members of Parliament to the Governor of Massachusetts, which was the means of his landing there unmolested, notwithstanding the previous harsh proceedings of the government

¹ Philip Earl of Pembroke, Edward Earl of Manchester, William Viscount Say and Seal, Philip Lord Wharton, and John Lord Roberts, members of the House of Peers; Sir Gilbert Gerard, Knight and Baronet, Sir Arthur Hazle-
rig, Baronet, Sir Henry Vane, Junior, Knight, Sir Benjamin Rudyer, Knight, John Pym, Oliver Cromwell, Dennis

Bond, Miles Corbet, Cornelius Holland, Samuel Vassal, John Rolles and William Spurstow, Esquires, members of the House of Commons. See Hazard's Historical Collections, vol. 1, p. 534.

² Backus, vol. 1, p. 149; Knowles, p. 198; Arnold, vol. 1, p. 114.

³ Knowles, p. 200; Gammell, p. 122; Elton, p. 74.

against him. The news of his arrival had preceded him, and at Seekonk the inhabitants of Providence met him with a fleet of fourteen canoes, to welcome his return and convey him in triumph to his home. Eight years before he had first crossed the same river, with only five companions, in a single canoe, when every stroke of the paddle removed them further and further from the settlements of a civilized people. Now were assembled around him his old and long-tried friends, who together had buffeted misfortune, and borne the taunts of the neighboring colonies. The occasion was one that might well have caused his eyes to glisten with tears of joy, and his heart to swell with gratitude to that God who had rewarded his pious confidence, and fulfilled his cherished hopes.

The several towns of the Providence Plantations at length agreed on a form of government, framed in accordance with the powers granted to them in their charter, or patent. It was adopted in a general assembly of the people of the Colony, held at Portsmouth, in May, 1647. In the act then passed it was declared, "that the form of government established in Providence Plantations is DEMOCRATICAL, that is to say, a government held by the free and voluntary consent of all, or the greater part of the free inhabitants."¹ The laws adopted by the General Assembly thus convened, were mainly taken from those of England. This excellent code concludes with these memorable words: "These are the laws that concern all men, and these are the penalties for the transgression thereof, which by common consent are ratified and established throughout this whole Colony; and otherwise than thus what is herein forbidden, all men may walk as their consciences persuade them, every one in the

¹ Bartlett's Colonial Records, vol. 1, pp. 156, 190.

name of his God. AND LET THE SAINTS OF THE MOST HIGH WALK IN THIS COLONY WITHOUT MOLESTATION IN THE NAME OF JEHOVAH, THEIR GOD, FOR EVER AND EVER, &c., &c."

The limits of a Biographical Introduction compel us to pass rapidly in review some of the leading events in the further interesting and eventful career of Roger Williams. In 1645 he was instrumental, through his great personal influence among the Indians, in making peace between the Narragansetts and the Mohegans, thus preserving the settlements of New England a second time from a general war. He was chosen Deputy President of the Colony in 1649, but declined the honor,¹ as also the office of Governor, to which the General Assembly, in a letter written to him three years later, proposed that he should get himself appointed, in order to "give weight to the government." In November, 1651, in company with his "loving friend" John Clarke, of Newport, he embarked at Boston, upon a second voyage to England, to procure the revocation of Governor Coddington's commission, and the confirmation of the first charter. It was during this visit that three of his works were published, an account of which we have reserved for our close. He enjoyed the hospitality of Sir Henry Vane, spending many weeks at Belleau, his beautiful country residence in Lincolnshire; and he was brought into intimate relations with Cromwell, Milton, Hutchinson, and other kindred spirits. In a letter to Governor Winthrop, written after his return, he says: "It pleased the Lord to call me for some time, and with some persons, to practise the Hebrew, the Greek, Latin, French and Dutch. The Secretary of the Council, Mr. Milton, for my Dutch

¹ Arnold, vol. 1, pp. 225, 242.

I read him, read me many more languages." This extract presents a favorable view of the literary acquirements and tastes of Roger Williams.

Returning to Providence in the summer of 1654, he at once addressed himself to the work of restoring union among the several towns of the Colony, separated as they were from each other, and distracted by mutual jealousies, and feuds that had grown inveterate by the lapse of time. In this difficult undertaking, in which he was aided by the influence of Sir Henry Vane, he happily succeeded. The government was reorganized upon a permanent basis, and on the 12th of September, 1654, he was chosen President, or Governor. This position he occupied three years and eight months, or until May, 1658, when he retired from the office. It was during this troubled period, that the New England Commissioners attempted to force Rhode Island, by threats of exclusion from all relations of intercourse and trade, to join them in their exertions to accomplish the extermination of the Quakers. In this they signally failed. The people fondly cherished their peculiar opinions in regard to "soul liberty," in the maintenance of which they had encountered the perils and hardships of the wilderness; and no inducements could prevail on the government to adopt other than a liberal policy, even towards the persecuted and then despised Quakers.

The following letter, which Mr. Knowles' has quoted from the records of Providence, finds a fitting place here, as an illustration of the views of Roger Williams respecting the authority of government and the duty of citizens. It was addressed to the town during his Presidency, and sets forth the principles on which the State was founded, deny-

• Page 279.

ing, in the most explicit manner, that he had ever given the slightest sanction to the doctrine of lawless license so prevalent at the time throughout the Colony. The letter itself is a sufficient vindication of his fame from every suspicion of that radicalism, which his enemies have seemed to delight in charging upon him.

“That ever I should speak or write a tittle, that tends to such infinite liberty of conscience, is a mistake, which I have ever disclaimed and abhorred. To prevent such mistakes, I at present shall only propose this case: There goes many a ship to sea, with many hundred souls in one ship, whose weal and woe is common, and is a true picture of a commonwealth, or a human combination or society. It hath fallen out sometimes, that both Papists and Protestants, Jews and Turks, may be embarked in one ship; upon which supposal, I affirm that all the liberty of conscience, that ever I pleaded for, turns upon these two hinges; that none of the Papists, Protestants, Jews, or Turks, be forced to come to the ship's prayers or worship, or compelled from their own particular prayers or worship, if they practise any. I further add, that I never denied, that, notwithstanding this liberty, the commander of this ship ought to command the ship's course, yea, and also command that justice, peace, and sobriety be kept, and practised, both among the seamen and all the passengers. If any of the seamen refuse to perform their service, or passengers to pay their freight; if any refuse to help, in person or purse, towards the common charges or defence; if any refuse to obey the common laws and orders of the ship, concerning their common peace or preservation; if any shall mutiny and rise up against their commanders and officers; if any shall preach or write that there ought to be no commanders or officers, because all are equal in

Christ, therefore no masters or officers, no laws nor orders, no corrections nor punishments; I say, I never denied, but in such cases, whatever is pretended, the commander or commanders may judge, resist, compel, and punish such transgressors, according to their deserts and merits. This, if seriously and honestly minded, may, if it so please the Father of Lights, let in some light to such as willingly shut not their eyes."

Concerning the closing years of the life of this truly excellent man we know but little. He outlived most of his contemporaries, dying at the advanced age of eighty-four, in the full vigor of his intellectual faculties. With ample means for the acquisition of wealth in his earlier career, he was compelled, it appears, in his latter days, to endure the ills of poverty.¹ The precise date of his death is nowhere mentioned. It must have occurred early in 1683, for Mr. John Thornton, of Providence, writing to the Rev. Samuel Hubbard, of Boston, under date of May 10th, of this year, says, "The Lord hath arrested by death our ancient and approved friend, Mr. Roger Williams, with divers others here." He was buried under arms, "with all the solemnity," says Callender, "the Colony was able to show." His remains were interred in a spot which he himself had selected, on his own land, a short distance from the place where, forty-seven years before, he first set foot in the wilderness. The place is now an orchard, in the rear of the residence of the late Mr. Sullivan Dorr. On the 22d of March, 1860, Mr. Stephen Randall, a descendant of Williams, in company with several gentlemen of literary and antiquarian tastes, caused his remains, "dust and ashes," to be exhumed, and removed to the North Burial

¹ Knowles, pp. 111 and 117; Gammell, p. 72.

Ground for reinterment. A memorial on this subject, stating all the facts known respecting his burial, and the particulars of his reinterment, was read before the Rhode Island Historical Society, on the 18th of May following, by Zachariah Allen, LL. D. This memorial or paper was afterwards printed. Whether the public, in its reverence for the life and character of Roger Williams, will claim his dust, to give it a more conspicuous burial, and some monument worthy of his fame, remains a problem yet to be solved. The city of Providence, and the State of Rhode Island, in gratitude to their pious founder, should take immediate measures to preserve the record of his deeds in some visible and enduring form.

“ We give in charge
His name to the sweet lyre. The historic muse,
Proud of the treasure, marches with it down
To latest time. Let Sculpture, in her turn,
Give bond in stone and ever-enduring brass,
To guard it, and to immortalize her trust.”

The name of Roger Williams has been handed down to us by Puritan writers loaded with reproach. He is described by Neal as a rigid Brownist, precise and uncharitable; and of the most turbulent and boisterous passions. But his writings refute the first charge, and his conduct, under circumstances likely to arouse the gentlest spirit, contradicts the second.¹ Governor Winthrop, in a letter to him, says: “Sir, we have often tried your patience but could never conquer it.”² He suffered more than most men from the slanders of those who should have been his friends. Coddington accused him “as a hireling, who for the sake of

¹ Marfden's Early Puritans, p. 313.

² Proceedings of Mass. Hist. Society, 1855-8, p. 314.

money went to England for the charter." Harris, in the long and angry controversy between them, left no means untried to undermine his influence with those for whom he had supplied a home, when the gates of Massachusetts were closed against them.¹ And even Palfrey, in his recent elaborate "History of New England,"² states that, for many years before his death, "he can scarcely be said to have been prominent in the view even of his own little public." His life as a whole "cannot be called, in any common use of the terms, a successful one," while "his official life was mostly passed in a furious turmoil."

A life spent in the enunciation and development of those principles of government, which, in the forcible language of Prof. Gervinus, "have given laws to one quarter of the globe," and in the practice of those religious principles, which are adopted in the main by the largest denomination of Protestant Christians, save one, in the United States, may surely, without exaggeration, be called a "successful" life. His offence, says Marsden, was this:—"He enunciated, and lived to carry out, the great principle of perfect toleration amongst contending parties by whom it was equally abhorred." But posterity has rendered him justice, and the founder of Rhode Island will be held in grateful and everlasting remembrance. As a happy illustration of his general views of life, and of his Christian temper and spirit, we close this Introduction with a second extract from his celebrated letter to Major Mason; written, it may be added, in 1670, when the author had passed the Psalmist's limits of three score years and ten.

"Alas! sir, in calm, midnight thoughts, what are these leaves and flowers, and smoke and shadows, and dreams of

¹ Arnold, vol. 1, p. 476.

² Vol. 3, p. 443.

earthly nothings, about which we poor fools and children, as David saith, disquiet ourselves in vain? Alas! what is all the scuffling of this world for, but, *come, will you smoke it?* What are all the contentions and wars of this world about, generally, but for greater dishes and bowls of porridge, of which, if we believe God's Spirit in Scripture, Esau and Jacob were types? Esau will part with the heavenly birth-right for his supping, after his hunting, for god-belly; and Jacob will part with his porridge for an eternal inheritance. O Lord, give me to make Jacob's and Mary's choice, which shall never be taken from me.

“How much sweeter is the counsel of the Son of God, to mind, first, the matters of his kingdom,—to take no care for to-morrow,—to pluck out, cut off, and fling away, right eyes, hands, and feet, rather than to be cast whole into hell-fire; to consider the ravens and the lilies, whom a heavenly Father so clothes and feeds; and the counsel of his servant Paul, to roll our cares, for this life also, upon the most high Lord, Steward of his people, the eternal God; to be content with food and raiment; to mind not our own, but every man the things of another; yea, and to suffer wrong, and part with that we judge is right, yea, our lives, and, as poor women-martyrs have said, as many as there be hairs upon our heads, for the name of God and the Son of God his sake. This is humanity, yea, this is Christianity. The rest is but formality and picture, courteous idolatry, and Jewish and Popish blasphemy against the Christian religion, the Father of spirits, and his Son the Lord Jesus. Besides, sir, the matter with us is not about these children's toys of land, meadows, cattle, government, &c. But here, all over this Colony, a great number of weak and distressed souls are scattered, flying hither from Old and New England; the

Most High and Only Wise hath, in his infinite wisdom, provided this country and this corner as a shelter for the poor and persecuted, according to their several persuasions. And thus that heavenly man, Mr. Haynes, Governor of Connecticut, though he pronounced the sentence of my long banishment against me, at Cambridge, then Newton, yet said unto me, in his own house at Hartford, being then in some difference with the Bay: 'I think, Mr. Williams, I must now confess to you, that the most wise God hath provided and cut out this part of his world for a refuge and receptacle for all sorts of consciences. I am now under a cloud, and my brother Hooker, with the Bay, as you have been; we have removed from them thus far, and yet they are not satisfied.'

"Thus, sir, the king's majesty, though his father's and his own conscience favored lord bishops, which their father and grandfather King James—whom I have spoke with—fore against his will, also did, yet all the world may see, by his majesty's declarations and engagements before his return, and his declarations and parliament speeches since, and many suitable actings, how the Father of spirits hath mightily impressed and touched his royal spirit, though the bishops much disturbed him, with deep inclination of favor and gentleness to different consciences and apprehensions, as to the invisible King and way of his worship. Hence he hath vouchsafed his royal promise under his hand and broad seal, that no person in this Colony shall be molested or questioned for the matters of his conscience to God, so he be loyal and keep the civil peace. Sir, we must part with lives and land before we part with such a jewel. I judge you may yield some land and the government of it to us, and we, for peace sake, the like to you, as being but subjects to one king, &c.,

and I think the king's majesty would thank us, for many reasons. But to part with this jewel, we may as soon do it as the Jews with the favor of Cyrus, Darius and Artaxerxes. Yourselfes pretend liberty of conscience, but, alas! it is but self, the great god self, only to yourselfes. The king's majesty winks at Barbadoes, where Jews, and all sorts of Christian and antichristian persuasions are free; but our grant, some few weeks after yours sealed, though granted as soon, if not before yours, is crowned with the king's extraordinary favor to this colony, as being a banished one, in which his majesty declared himself that he would experiment, whether civil government could consist with such liberty of conscience. That his majesty's grant was startled at by his majesty's high officers of state, who were to view it in course before the sealing; but, fearing the lion's roaring, they couched, against their wills, in obedience to his majesty's pleasure.

"Some of yours, as I heard lately, told tales to the archbishop of Canterbury; viz., that we are a profane people, and do not keep the Sabbath, but some do plough, &c. But, first, you told him not how we suffer freely all other persuasions, yea, the common prayer, which yourselfes will not suffer. If you say you will, you confess you must suffer more, as we do.

"You know this is but a color to your designs, for, 1st. You know that all England itself (after the formality and superstition of morning and evening prayer) play away their Sabbath. 2d. You know yourselfes do not keep the Sabbath, that is, the seventh day, &c.

"You know that famous Calvin, and thousands more, held it but ceremonial and figurative, from Colossians ii, &c., and vanished; and that the day of worship was altera-

ble at the church's pleasure. Thus, also, all the Romanists confess, saying, viz., that there is no express scripture, first, for infant's baptisms; nor, second, for abolishing the seventh day, instituting the eighth day of worship, but that it is at the church's pleasure.

"You know that, generally, all this whole Colony observe the first day, only here and there one out of conscience, another out of covetousness, make no conscience of it.

"You know the greatest part of the world make no conscience of a seventh day. The next part of the world, Turks, Jews, and Christians, keep three different days—Friday, Saturday, Sunday—for their Sabbath and day of worship; and every one maintains his own by the longest sword.

"I have offered, and do, by these presents, to discuss by disputation, writing or printing, among other points of differences, these three positions: 1st. That forced worship stinks in God's nostrils. 2d. That it denies Christ Jesus yet to be come, and makes the church yet national, figurative, and ceremonial. 3d. That in these flames about religion, as his majesty, his father, and grandfather have yielded, there is no other prudent, Christian way of preserving peace in the world, but by permission of differing consciences. Accordingly, I do now offer to dispute these points and other points of difference, if you please, at Hartford, Boston, and Plymouth. For the manner of the dispute and the discussion, if you think fit, one whole day each month in summer, at each place, by course, I am ready, if the Lord permit, and, as I humbly hope, assist me.

"It is said, that you intend not to invade our spiritual or civil liberties, but only, under the advantage of first sealing your charter, to right the privateers that petition to you.

It is said, also, that if you had but Mishquomacuck and Narragansett lands quietly yielded, you would stop at Cowesit, &c. Oh, sir, what do these thoughts preach, but that private cabins rule all, whatever become of the ship of common safety and religion, which is so much pretended in New England? Sir, I have heard further, and by some that say they know, that something deeper than all which hath been mentioned lies in the three colonies' breasts and consultations. I judge it not fit to commit such matter to the trust of paper, &c., but only beseech the Father of spirits to guide our poor bewildered spirits, for his name and mercy's sake.

“Whereas our case seems to be the case of Paul appealing to Cæsar against the plots of his religious, zealous adversaries. I hear you pass not our petitions and appeals to his majesty, for partly you think the king will not own a profane people that do not keep the Sabbath; partly you think the king an incompetent judge, but you will force him to law also, to confirm your first-born Esau, though Jacob had him by the heels, and in God's holy time must carry the birthright and inheritance. I judge your surmise is a dangerous mistake; for patents, grants, and charters, and such like royal favors, are not laws of England and acts of parliament, nor matters of propriety and *meum* and *tuum* between the king and his subjects, which, as the times have been, have been sometimes triable in inferior courts; but such kind of grants have been like high offices in England, of high honor, and ten, yea, twenty thousand pounds gain per annum, yet revocable or curtable upon pleasure, according to the king's better information or upon his majesty's sight, or misbehavior, in gratefulness, or designs fraudulently plotted, private and distinct from him.

“Sir, I lament that such designs should be carried on at

such a time, while we are stripped and whipped, and are still under, the whole country, the dreadful rods of God, in our wheat, hay, corn, cattle, shipping, trading, bodies, and lives; when on the other side of the water, all sorts of consciences, yours and ours, are frying in the bishops's pan and furnace; when the French and Romish Jesuits, the fire-brands of the world for their god-belly sake, are kindling at our back, in this country, especially with the Mohawks and Mohegans, against us, of which I know and have daily information.

“If any please to say, is there no medicine for this malady? Must the nakedness of New England, like some notorious strumpet, be prostituted to the blaspheming eyes of all nations? Must we be put to plead before his majesty, and consequently the lord bishops, our common enemies, &c.? I answer, the Father of mercies and God of all consolations hath graciously discovered to me, as I believe, a remedy, which, if taken, will quiet all minds, yours and ours; will keep yours and ours in quiet possession and enjoyment of their lands, which you all have so dearly bought and purchased in this barbarous country, and so long possessed amongst these wild savages; will preserve you both in the liberties and honors of your charters and governments, without the least impeachment of yielding one to another; with a strong curb also to those wild barbarians and all the barbarians of this country, without troubling of compromisers and arbitrators between you; without any delay, or long and chargeable and grievous address to our king's majesty, whose gentle and serene souls must needs be afflicted to be troubled again with us. If you please to ask me what my prescription is, I will not put you off to Christian moderation, or Christian humility, or Christian pru-

dence, or Christian love, or Christian self-denial, or Christian contention or patience. For I design a civil, a humane, and political medicine, which, if the God of heaven please to bless, you will find it effectual to all the ends I have proposed. Only I must crave your pardon, both parties of you, if I judge it not fit to discover it at present. I know you are both of you hot; I fear myself, also. If both desire, in a loving and calm spirit, to enjoy your rights, I promise you, with God's help, to help you to them, in a fair, and sweet, and easy way. My receipt will not please you all. If it should so please God to frown upon us that you should not like it, I can but humbly mourn, and say with the prophet, that which must perish, must perish. And as to myself, in endeavoring after your temporal and spiritual peace, I humbly desire to say, if I perish, I perish. It is but a shadow vanished, a bubble broke, a dream finished. Eternity will pay for all.

“Sir, I am your old and true friend and servant,

R. W.”

—:o:—

The following is a list of the writings of Roger Williams, the titles being arranged in chronological order:

A Key into the Language of America: or, an Help to the Language of the Natives in that part of America called New England. Together with briefe Observations of the Customes, Manners and Worthips, &c. of the aforesaid Natives, in Peace and Warre, in Life and Death. On all which are added Spirituall Observations, Generall and Particular, by the Authour, of chiefe and speciall use (upon all occasions) to all the English Inhabiting those Parts; yet pleasant and profitable to the view of all men. London, printed by Gregory Dexter. 1643.

This work, we have already remarked, was written at sea, on the author's first voyage to England. It comprises two hun-

dred and sixteen small duodecimo pages, including preface and table, and is dedicated to his "deare and well-beloved friends and country-men in Old and New England." It is by far the best known of Mr. Williams's works, and is still of the highest authority respecting the subject of which it treats. The greater part of it has been republished in the third and fifth volumes of the first series of the Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society. It is also contained entire in the first volume of the Collections of the Rhode Island Historical Society. This volume was printed in 1827, from a manuscript copy of the "Key" which Zachariah Allen, LL. D., had recently procured from the Bodleian Library at Oxford, and presented to the Society. A copy of the original edition is in the British Museum, and also in the library of the Massachusetts Historical Society, the latter copy supplied by Prof. Knowles, when his Memoir was published, to be the only one in the country. Copies are likewise to be found in the libraries of Harvard College, Brown University, and the American Antiquarian Society at Worcester. A merchant of Providence, distinguished for his zeal in collecting books pertaining to the early history of America, has five copies of the original "Key," all finely bound and in excellent condition.

"This singular, and, as it has been represented, exceedingly copious and versatile language has been made," says Prof. Gammell, "the subject of much curious inquiry among the philologists of our own and of other lands. The people who spoke it have long since vanished from the hills and forests of New England; but the language itself has survived them in the pious though humble labors of their benefactors. Specimens of its endless words and its unique structure are still to be found in the 'Key,' which Williams

wrote, in the 'Grammar' of John Eliot, and especially in the few scattered copies that remain of the Indian Bible, which the noble minded apostle toiled away the best years of his life in translating.

Mr. Cottons Letter Lately Printed, examined and answered.
London. Imprinted in the yeere 1644.

This is a small quarto of 47 pages, including 2 pages to the "Impartial Reader."

The Bloody Tenent, of Persecution, for cause of Conscience, discussed, in a Conference betweene Truth and Peace, who, in all tender Affection, present to the High Court of Parliament, (as the Result of their Discourse,) these, (amongst other Passages) of highest Consideration. Printed in the year 1644.

This is also a small quarto, comprising 247 pages of text, besides 24 pages of table and introduction.

Queries of highest consideration proposed to Mr. Tho. Goodwin, Mr. Phillip Nye, Mr. Wil. Bridges, Mr. Jer. Burroughs, Mr. Sidr. Simpson, all Independents; and to the Commissioners from the Generall Assembly (so called) of the Church of Scotland upon occasion of their late printed Apologies for themselves and their Churches. In all Humble Reverence presented to the view of the Right Honourable the Houses of the High Court of Parliament. London. Imprinted in the year 1644.

An anonymous pamphlet of 13 pages.

The Bloody Tenent yet more Bloody: by Mr. Cottons endeavor to wash it white in the Blood of the Lambe; of whose precious Blood, spilt in the Blood of his Servants; and of the Blood of Millions spilt in former and later Wars for Conscience sake, that most Bloody Tenent of Persecution for cause of Conscience, upon a second Tryal, is found now more apparently and more notoriously guilty. In this Rejoynder to Mr. Cotton are principally, 1. The Nature of Perfection, 2. The Power of the Civill Sword in Spirituals Examined; 3. The Parliaments permission of Dissenting Consciences Justified. Also (as a Testimony to Mr. Clarks Narrative) is added a Letter to Mr. Endicot Governor of the Massachusetts in N. E. London, Printed for Giles Calvert, and are to be sold at the black-spread Eagle, at the West-End of Pauls, 1652.

A small quarto of 373 pages, including the introduction and table of contents.

The Hireling Ministry None of Christs, or a Discourse touching the Propagating the Gospel of Christ Jesus. Humbly Presented to such Pious and Honourable Hands, whom the present Debate thereof concerns. London. Printed in the Second Month. 1652.

Small quarto, comprising 36 pages of text, and 8 pages of introductory matter.

Experiments of Spiritual Life and Health, and their Preservatives in which the Weakest child of God may get Assurance of his Spirituall Life and Blessednesse, and the Strongest may finde proportionable Discoveries of his Christian Growth, and the means of it. London, Printed, in the Second Month, 1652.

Small quarto, comprising 59 pages of text, and 10 pages of introductory matter.

The last of Mr. Williams's published works is entitled :

George¹ Fox Digg'd out of his Burrowes, Or an Offer of Disputation on fourteen Proposals made this last Summer 1672 (so call'd) unto G. Fox then present on Rhode-Island in New-England, by R. W. As also how (G. Fox silyly departing) the Disputation went on being managed three dayes at Newport on Rhode-Island, and one day at Providence, between John Stubs, John Burnet, and William Edmundson on the one part, and R. W. on the other. In which many Quotations out of G. Fox and Ed. Burrowes Book in Folio are alleaged. With an Appendix of some scores of G. F. his simple lame Answers to his Opposites in that Book, quoted and replied to. Boston. Printed by John Foster, 1676.

A quarto of 335 pages.

¹ A copy of this book in the Boston Athenæum has "G. Fox" instead of "George Fox." In other respects the title is the same as the one which we have given above.

We have thus given a brief list of all the published writings of Roger Williams, which are known to be extant. Several of his treatises, and among them the essay concerning the patent, which excited the displeasure of the magistrates in Massachusetts before his banishment, were not, it is presumed, printed. In his letter to Governor Bradstreet, of Boston, dated May 6, 1682, he speaks of a collection of heads of discourses preached to the "Scattered English at Narragansett" which he had reduced to writing with a view to publication. Inquiry has been made for these discourses, but the most diligent search has thus far failed to bring them to light. In the preface to the "Key into the Language of America," the author, alluding to the conversion of the Indians, says: "I shall further present you with a brief additional discourse concerning this great point." This was doubtless printed at the time in a pamphlet form, but no mention whatever is made of it by any of his biographers. A copy of it may perhaps be found among the great pamphlet collections of the Bodleian Library or the British Museum.

The Letters of Mr. Williams were numerous, as he held an extensive correspondence with the leading men of his day. Many of these Letters have been published in Knowles's Memoir, Elton's Life, Staples's Annals of Providence, and the Collections of the Massachusetts and Rhode Island Historical Societies. Others are scattered about, in the possession of individuals, or in places of public deposit. A large number have been found among the family papers of his friend, Governor Winthrop. Some of these have recently been printed under the auspices of the Massachusetts Historical Society, forming a part of the 6th volume, 4th series of their Collections. They number in all 65, the first being

dated at Plymouth, about the year 1632, and the last at Providence, January 14, 1675. It is earnestly hoped that the LIFE, WORKS AND CORRESPONDENCE of Roger Williams may one day be published in a popular and attractive form, and circulated broadcast throughout the land. They would thus constitute a "monument" to his genius and worth, more enduring than "storied urn" or sculptured marble.

R. A. G.

BROWN UNIVERSITY, May 4, 1866.



Williams, Roger.
"

A KEY

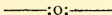
INTO THE

LANGUAGE OF AMERICA,

EDITED BY

J. HAMMOND TRUMBULL.

EDITOR'S PREFACE.



SOON after Mr. Williams arrived in New England, he began to apply himself to the study of the Indian language. In this study,—pursued with his characteristic ardor,—he had already made considerable progress before his banishment from Massachusetts in 1635. His determination to establish his residence within the jurisdiction of the Narragansett sachems was influenced (as he declares, in a letter, written in 1677,) by his “soul’s desire to do the natives good, and to that end to learn their language;” and, when enumerating the peculiar advantages he enjoyed in negotiating the purchase of Mooshaufick from Canonicus and Miantunnomu, he says, “God was pleased to give me a painful, patient spirit to lodge with them in their filthy, smoky holes, (*even while I lived at Plymouth and Salem,*) to gain their tongue;” so that, at his first coming to Narragansett, he “could debate with them (in a great measure) in their own language.” Wood, who sailed for England in August, 1633, and published his *New England’s Prospect*,

1 Knowles’s Memoir, pp. 108, 109.

the next year, in London, mentions (part 2, ch. 18,) "one of the English preachers," who, "in a speciall good intent of doing good to their [the Indians'] soules, hath spent much time in attaining to their language, wherein he is so good a proficient, that he can speake to their understanding, and they to his; much loving and respecting him for his love and counsell. It is hoped [he adds,] that he may be an instrument of good amongst them." That this English preacher was Roger Williams hardly admits of doubt: for John Eliot, the good "apostle of the Indians," did not begin his labors among them until eleven or twelve years after Wood's book was printed, and then, "preached to them first by an interpreter," till "having with much industry learned their language, he *now* (wrote Mr. Cotton, in 1647) preacheth to two congregations of them, in their own language."

In the letter already quoted, Mr. Williams refers to gifts made by him to Oufamequin and Canonicus, "many years' before he came in person to Narragansett:" and in his deed to his associates, in 1661, he mentions "several treaties with Canonicus and Miantunnomu," in 1634 and 1635.² He must have attained a respectable proficiency in their language before his settlement at Providence in 1636. In the autumn of that year, when the Narragansett sachems visited Boston and concluded a treaty of peace, the governor and

¹ Way of Congreg. Churches Cleared, part i. p. 77. He had, however, "obtained to preach to them in their own language," before December, 1646.—Winthrop, ii, 297, 303: comp. Gookin's Hist. Collections, in 1 Mafs. Hist. Coll., i. 168. Eliot's *first* interpreter, whom he employed to "teach him words," was a

Long Island Indian, taken prisoner in the Pequot war, 1637, and placed as a servant with Richard Collicott, of Dorchester. Glorious Progress, &c., 19, in 3 Mafs. Hist. Coll. iv. 90.

² Knowles, 109, 113; Staples's Annals of Providence, 30.

magistrates of Massachusetts, "because they could not well make them understand the articles perfectly, agreed to send a copy of them to Mr. Williams, who could best interpret them to them." From this time, until the close of the Pequot war in 1637, his services as an interpreter, and in negotiation with the Narragansetts and their allies, were in constant requisition. The importance of these services can hardly be over-estimated. He might well aver that he "had his share of service to the whole land in that business, inferior to very few that acted." Early in 1638, after a visit to the Narragansett sachems, he writes to his friend Governor Winthrop, "good news of great hopes the Lord hath sprung up, of many a poor Indian soul inquiring after God. I have convinced hundreds at home and abroad that in point of religion they are all wandering, &c."³ "Of later times,"—as he tells us in the epistle introductory to the Key,— "out of desire to attain their language, I have run through varieties of intercourses with them, day and night, summer and winter, by land and sea." "Many hundreds of times," before 1643, he had preached to "great numbers of them," to their "great delight, and great convictions,"—and this not only among the Narragansetts, but "with all sorts of Nations of them, from one end of the Country to another."⁴

Yet, although he spoke the language of the Narragansetts and neighboring tribes, with ease and accuracy enough to qualify him to impart religious instruction as well as to transact business of all kinds, and to maintain friendly intercourse with them, it is evident that he had not

¹ Winthrop, i. 199.

² Letter to Major Mason (1670,) in 1

³ ⁴ Mass. Hist. Coll., vi. 225.

⁴ Key, Introd., and ch. xxi., p. 123.

Mass. Hist. Coll., i. 277.

thoroughly mastered all the anomalies of Indian grammar, and that he had not given much attention to the polysynthetic structure which characterizes this family of languages and renders every compound word a new puzzle to those who have previously been familiar only with inflected languages. In a work written nearly ten years after the Key was printed, he argues that "men cannot preach to the Indians in any propriety of their speech," without inspiration.¹

There is, in fact, but one volume in which the peculiarities of the grammar and word-structure of the languages of New England,—the middle group of dialects of the Algonkin-Lenape family,—are adequately presented or can be successfully studied, and that is, Eliot's translation of the Bible. Mr. Du Ponceau justly characterized this as "a rich and valuable mine of Indian philology," from which "a complete grammar and dictionary might, with labour and perseverance, be extracted."² It merits even more liberal eulogy,—as a marvellous triumph of scholarship, achieved in the face of difficulties which might well have appeared insurmountable. In few words, Eliot has told the secret of his success: "*Prayer and pains, through faith in Christ Jesus, will do any thing.*" With this assurance, he entered upon his great work, and, in spite of disadvantages (not the least of which was his poverty,) prosecuted it to the end. And it may be doubted if, in the two centuries which have elapsed since the Indian Bible was printed, any translation of the sacred volume has been made from the English to a foreign tongue, of more literal accuracy and completeness. If a different impression has been popularly received, slight

¹ Bloody Tenent more Bloody. See Knowles, p. 328.

² Notes on Eliot's Grammar, p. ix., in Mass. Hist. Coll., 2d Ser. vol. ix.

study of the Indian text will suffice to remove it. Were the singular excellence of this work rightly appreciated, there would be more of truth in Du Ponceau's declaration, (now, unfortunately, merely a rhetorical flourish,) that "the worldly fame, which Eliot did not seek, awaited him at the end of two centuries."¹

Roger Williams's Key has a value of a different kind, and one which is peculiar to itself. However deficient as a grammar, (a form which the author "purposely avoided, as not so accommodate to the benefit of all,") of its excellence as a vocabulary and phrase book there can be no question. It has preserved for us just that "propriety of the [Indian] language in *common things*," which was not to be attained "without abundant conversing with them, in eating, travelling and lodging with them,"²—and which could have no place in Eliot's translations of the Bible and treatises on practical religion. From no other source can we learn so many Indian *names*, general and specific, of objects animate and inanimate,—so many words and phrases of familiar speech, and which were most frequently employed by the Indians in their intercourse with each other. It is in fact the *only* vocabulary of a language of southern New England which is trustworthy, or tolerably full. And this special value is enhanced by the fact that it was compiled before the language of the Narragansetts had been essentially modified by intercourse with the English, or by the influence of Eliot's and other printed translations into the Massachusetts dialect. To such modification all unwritten languages are subject, and the Indian languages of America were, from

¹ Notes on Eliot's Grammar, p. i.—² Bloody Tenent more Bloody, (in 1 Mass. Hist. Coll., ix. Knowles, p. 328.)

their structure, peculiarly so.¹ That it did in fact take place in New England, and as a consequence of the printing of the Indian Bible, is not doubtful,—though we have no means of ascertaining whether or not it extended to the Narragansett tribe. Experience Mayhew, writing from Martha's Vineyard in 1722, states that the language of that island and that of Natick were then "very much alike," but adds, "indeed the difference *was* something greater than now it is, *before our Indians had the use of the Bible and other books translated by Mr. Eliot; but since that, the most of the little differences that were betwixt them have been happily lost,* and our Indians speak, but especially write, much as those of Natick do."²

The differences which may be regarded as dialectical between the Narragansett language, as Mr. Williams presents it, and the Natick as written by Eliot and his contemporaries, are few and inconsiderable. It would be difficult to point to *any*, which are well marked and constant. It must be remembered that, while the Key "is framed *chiefly* after the Narragansett dialect," Mr. Williams had acquired his knowledge of the language from intercourse with at least three independent tribes,—during his residence at Plymouth, Salem, and Providence: and it is certain that, in some instances, he has admitted words which are *not* in the Narragansett dialect. For example,—on page 107, (Chap. xvii.,) where he remarks upon the great "variety of their dialects and proper speech within thirty or forty miles of each other," he gives "*anùm*, a dog," for the *Cowesit* (as it

¹ See Gallatin's Synopsis, (Trans. Am. Antiq. Soc., ii.) 24; Max Müller's Lect. on Science of Language, 1st Ser., 61, 62, (Amer. ed.)

² Ms. Letter to Hon. Paul Dudley;

an important contribution to the materials for the study of the Indian languages, for a copy of which I am indebted to J. Wingate Thornton, Esq., of Boston.

was, also, the Natick) form, and distinguishes the "*Narriganſet*," as *ayim*. The word *Narriganſet*, here, and elsewhere in the Key, contains the letter *r*, which was not pronounced by the *Narraganſetts* proper, whose tribe-name Mr. Williams (in his epistle introductory) writes *Nanhig-ganſuck*. So, (on pages 28, 29, 140, 142,) the words *nullógana*, my wife; *wullógana*, a [his] wife; *nullóquaſo*, my ward, or pupil, — appear, by the presence of the *l*, to belong to some other dialect than the *Narraganſett*; probably, to the *Nipmuck*. On the whole, the language of the Key does not differ more widely from that of Eliot's Bible, than does the latter from the Massachusetts Pfalter and translation of John's Gospel, printed for the use of the Indians of Massachusetts in 1709.

To many readers, the "brief observations of the customs, manners and worships, &c., of the natives," constitute the most "pleasant and profitable" portion of the author's work. These, supplementing what he terms the "implicite dialogues" of the Key proper, are of great value, for the information they supply respecting the manners and customs, the conduct and character, of the Indians of New England, "in peace and warre, in life and death." They have been so often and so largely drawn upon by later writers, that our obligations to their author are almost lost sight of, and they are held, as if by prescription, the common property of historians. No account of the aborigines of America, no history of New England or of any of its colonies, would remain tolerably complete, if Roger Williams's contributions were withdrawn from its pages. Even Cotton Mather not only gave a good word, in passing, to the "little relation, with observations, wherein (Mr. Williams) *spiritualizes* the *curioſities* . . . whereof he entertains his reader,"¹ but

¹ *Magnalia*, b. vii. ch. 2, §8.

condescends to borrow from it, without acknowledgment, the materials for the best part of the best chapter in his *Life of John Eliot*:¹ and the *Key* has perhaps been quoted nearly as often through the *Magnalia* as from the pages of the original edition, or its reprints.

Mr. Williams failed for England early in the summer of 1643. The materials of the *Key* were, as he informs us, drawn "in a rude lump," at sea, as a help to his own memory. Afterwards, he resolved to reduce these materials into form for publication. This work must have been accomplished before, or very shortly after, his arrival in London. The volume was printed before September 7th,—the date of purchase, or acquisition, which was marked by Mr. Thomason on the copy in his Collection, which is now in the British Museum.² It is in small octavo, (as compared with modern standards, octodecimo,) and contains fourteen sheets; making 224 pages, inclusive of the title-leaf. An error in the pagination makes the apparent number of pages less by eight, than the actual number.³

¹ *Magnalia*, b. iii. part 3, (pt. 3.) Mather himself gave some study to the Indian language, and made a display of his proficiency, in sundry translations for the use of the praying Indians. Judging from the specimen introduced in the Appendix to his *India Christiana*, (Boston, 1721, pp. 52-55,) there is nothing surprising in a fact which he records in the *Magnalia*,—that having once "made trial of this Indian language," in the way of exorcism, he found that the Devils "*did seem as if they did not understand it,*" though they could construe his "Latin Greek, and Hebrew," readily enough.

² Savage's *N. E. Gleanings*, in 3 *Mss. Historical Collections*, viii. 295.

³ Collation: Title; verso blank (2 pp.) "To my Deare and Welbeloved Friends," &c. (12 pp. fig. A2-A7). "Directions for the use of the language," (2 pp.). "An Helpe," &c., pp. 1-197, B1 to recto of O7, inclusive. The Table, verso of O7 and recto of O8, (2 pp.). License, verso of O8. Errors in pagination: 77, misprinted 69; 80, misprinted 86; 92-98, page numbers transposed, 94, 95, 92, 93, 98, and 96 and 97 omitted; 105-114, repeated, (H4-8, and I1-5.) In the present edition, this second or repeated series of page numbers (105 to 114, inclusive) will be distinguished, for convenience of reference, as 105², 106², &c.

It is hardly necessary to mention that Gregory Dexter, the printer of this little volume, came, not long after it was published, to Providence, where he became a prominent citizen,—was an elder of the Baptist church; for several years town clerk; president of the main-land towns in 1653; the “dear and faithful friend” of Roger Williams; and at his death, upwards of ninety years of age, left an honored name to numerous descendants.¹

In 1827, when the Rhode Island Historical Society undertook to reprint the Key, in the first volume of their Collections, the only copy of the original which was known to be in this country was in the library of the Massachusetts Historical Society. From another, in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, Zachariah Allen, Esq., had procured a manuscript copy, and this, (after collation with the copy in Boston,) was employed for the re-print. Under these circumstances, without the opportunity of correcting proofs by the printed pages of the first edition, it is not surprising that errors found their way into the edition of 1827; it is more surprising, perhaps, that the errors are comparatively so few. They are sufficiently numerous, however, to render a literally accurate reprint desirable, especially to students of the Indian languages.

The first edition is sufficiently rare, as any one who wishes to add a copy to his collection will be likely to discover. Yet it is no longer true that a single library enjoys the pos-

¹ Thomas's Hist. of Printing, i. 418, 419; Hague's Cent. Discourse, 1839; Knowles's Memoir of R. Williams, 253. A Robert Dexter, who came from Ipswich, Co. Suffolk, began business in London, as a printer and stationer, in 1589, and was of good repute and position in the

trade. A list of books printed by (or, for) him, may be seen in Herbert's Ames's Typogr. Antiquities, 1267-8, and in Watt's Bibliotheca. He was living in 1604. Nichols's Lit. Anecdotes, iii. 591.

feſſion of the only copy on this ſide of the Atlantic. Mr. Guild (in the Biographical Introduction, p. 56,) mentions the fact that *five* copies, in excellent condition, are to be found in one private library in Providence, and as many more, at leaſt, are preſerved in public and private libraries in this country.

It is greatly to be regretted that the diligence of collectors has not been rewarded by the diſcovery of another work which Mr. Williams gave to the preſs at nearly the ſame time with the Key; namely, the “little additional diſcourſe,” in which (as he informs us at the end of the Table appended to the Key,) he had “further treated of theſe Natives of New England, and that great point of their Converſion.” This tract is alſo mentioned in his epistle introductory to the Key, where it is ſaid to have been written in reſponſe to what, at the time of its publication, was “the great inquiry of all men, What Indians have been converted? What have the Engliſh done in thoſe parts? What hopes of the Indians receiving the knowledge of Chriſt?” To theſe inquiries a new intereſt had recently been imparted by the appearance of *New England's Firſt Fruits*, ſent from Boſton in the autumn of 1642, and printed in London early the next year, which contained¹ that relation of the converſion of *Wequaſh* to which Mr. Williams alludes² as “of late in print.” I have not ſeen a copy of this additional diſcourſe by Mr. Williams, and cannot learn where one may be found; nor does its title appear in any liſt of his publiſhed works. Yet it is quoted by Baylie, the preſbyterian controverſialiſt, in *A Diſſuaſive from the Errours of the Time*, (London, 1645, 4to.) in ſupport of his charge

¹ Pages 5-7.

² Epistle Introductory to Key.

against the Independents of New England, that they neglected the work of conversion,—“onely Master *Williams*,” he adds,—“in the time of his banishment from among them, did essay what could be done with those desolate souls,” &c. (p. 60); and among the “testimonies” appended to the chapter he introduces two extracts from Mr. Williams’s discourse “Of the Name *Heathen*.” These extracts will be found in a note to Chapter XXI, page 129, of this volume. Mr. Cotton, in the first part of “*The Way of Congregational Churches cleared*,” etc., written in reply to Baylie’s *Dissuasive*, comments upon what he terms “Mr. Williams his invectives against us, which yeeld a further supply to Mr. Baylie’s testimonies.”

One fact gives to this “Key into the Language of America” a peculiar interest, by associating its publication with the history of the colony and State of Rhode Island. When Mr. Williams returned in 1644, from his successful mission to England, he brought with him a letter to the government of Massachusetts, signed by the Earl of Northumberland, Lord Wharton, and other members of the Parliament,—three of the number being members of the Commission for Plantations. In this letter, his “great industry and travail in his *printed Indian labours*, . . . the like whereof [had not been] seen extant from any part of America,” are specially mentioned as among the considerations which influenced Parliament “to grant unto him and friends with him, a free and absolute Charter of civil government for those parts of his abode.”² He had indeed found a way to impart to his materials drawn “in a rude lump, at sea,” but so “dearly bought in some few years

¹ Pages 68, 79.

² Winthrop’s Journal, ii. 193.

hardship and charges among the barbarians," a value quite independent of that which they may have for the comparative philologist or the curious reader. He had made them "pleasant and profitable for all, but especially for his friends residing in those parts." The little volume rises in dignity and importance when we recognize in it one of the agencies which secured to the planters on Narragansett Bay the right of self-government and a place among free States.

The receipt of this letter by Massachusetts may not have been without its influence in promoting measures, which were about this time initiated, for the religious instruction of the Indians in that colony. Mr. Williams landed at Boston, in September, 1644. Not quite two months afterwards, the General Court of Massachusetts, for the first time, gave formal encouragement to efforts for civilizing the Indians, and empowered the several county courts to "take order from time to time to have them instructed in the knowledge and worship of God." Without imputing this awakened activity to considerations of mere policy, it may be conjectured that the lively interest in the work of conversion, which had been manifested by good men in England, who were known to be friendly to the colony, was not the less likely to influence the action of the General Court because these good men now occupied high positions in the State, and had power to give or withhold charters at their pleasure, and to nourish colonies "tanquam calore et rore

¹ Mass. Records, ii. 84. Oddly enough it sounds now, that one of the first manifestations of awakening interest in the welfare, temporal and spiritual, of the Indians, was the conclusion to which the Court arrived, at the same session, that it

was "not fit to deprive them of any lawful comfort which God alloweth to all men by the *use of wine*," and a consequent permission to retailers, "to sell also to the Indians, so much as may be fit for their needful use or refreshing." Ibid. 85.

cœlesti" of parliamentary favor.¹ About this time, too, the churches received new light. Mr. Cotton, and probably, most of the Elders of the Bay, had doubted,—as did Mr. Williams,—if any "considerable number of men out of the Church, as Pagans be, shall be able to enter into the church," till the seven apocalyptic plagues be fulfilled and the smoke of the temple be cleared. (Rev. xv. 8.)² Mr. Dunster, president of Harvard College, had for some years much studied "the plat-form and way of conversion of the Natives," yet not "without opposition, as some others also had met with," for he maintained the novel doctrine that "the way to instruct the Indians must be *in their own language*, not *English*."³ Now, the churches began to reproach themselves "that they had not endeavored more than they had done" the spiritual enlightenment of these pagans,⁴ hopeless as the task had seemed, and although, as Cotton Mather afterwards said, "to think on raising a number of these hideous creatures unto the elevations of our holy religion, must argue more than common or little sentiments in the undertaker."⁵ There was no want of laborers for the field. Eliot and the younger Mayhew were ready to devote themselves to the work; and to this, they no longer were without encouragement.

In the present edition of the Key, it has been the desire of the NARRAGANSETT CLUB and the constant aim of the editor, to ensure the literal accuracy of the reprint,—even to the reproduction of typographical errors—of the original.

¹ Answer of the Gen. Court of Mafs. to Samuel Gorton's petition, 1646. Winthrop, ii. 298.

² Cotton's Way of Congr. Churches cleared, pt. i., p. 78. Comp. Lechford's Plaine Dealing, 21: The Day-Breaking,

&c., 3 Mafs. Hist. Coll., iv. 15; Hiring Ministry none of Christ's, Knowles's Memoir, 378.

³ Lechford, 53.

⁴ The Day Breaking, &c., 15.

⁵ Magnalia, Life of Eliot, pt. 3.

Where such errors have been discovered or suspected, they have been pointed out in the notes. The accents, which the author was "at the paines and charges" to affix, "because the Life of all Languages is in the Pronuntiation,"—have been scrupulouſly retained,—except in ſome few inſtances where, probably, the want of properly accented vowels compelled the printer of the firſt edition to ſubſtitute the *Greek* circumflex (˘) for the *Roman* (^) which is generally employed throughout the volume, and in a few others where defective type or blurred impreſſions make it impoſſible to determine the form or direction of the original accent, even after the collation of ſeveral copies.

The page-numbers by which references to the Key are made in the notes, are thoſe of the firſt edition which, in this, have been retained *in brackets*.

J. H. T.

HARTFORD, Conn., June 12th 1866.

A KEY into the

LANGUAGE

O F

A M E R I C A :

O R,

An help to the *Language* of the *Natives* in that
part of AMERICA, called
NEW-ENGLAND.

Together, with briefe *Observations* of the *Customes*, *Manners* and *Worships*, &c. of the aforesaid *Natives*,
in *Peace* and *Warre*, in *Life* and *Death*.

On all which are added *Spirituall Observations*, *Generall*
and *Particular* by the *Authour*, of chiefe and
speciall use (upon all occasions,) to all the *English*
Inhabiting those parts; yet pleafant
and profitable to the view
of all men :

By ROGER WILLIAMS

of *Providence* in *New-England*.

LONDON,

Printed by *Gregory Dexter*, 1643.



To my Deare and Welbeloved Friends and Counrey-
men, in *old and new* ENGLAND.



Present you with a *Key*; I have not heard of the like, yet framed, since it pleased God to bring that mighty *Continent* of *America* to light: Others of my Countrymen have often, and excellently, and lately written of the *Countrey* (and none that I know beyond the goodnesse and worth of it.)

This *Key*, respects the *Native Language* of it, and happily may unlocke some *Rarities* concerning the *Natives* themselves, not yet discovered.

I drew the *Materialls* in a rude lumpe at Sea, as a private *helpe* to my owne memory, that I might not by my present absence *lightly lose* what I had so *dearely bought* in some few yeares *hardship*, and *charges* among the *Barbarians*; yet being reminded by some, what pitie it were to bury those *Materialls* in my *Grave* at land or Sea; and withall, remembering how oft I have been importun'd by *worthy friends*, of all sorts, to afford them some helps this way.

I resolved (by the assistance of *the most High*) to cast those *Materialls* into this *Key*, *pleasant* and *profitable* for *All*, but speally for my *friends* residing in those parts:

A little *Key* may open a *Box*, where lies a *bunch* of *Keys*.
 With this I have entred into the secrets of those *Countries*, where ever *English* dwel about two hundred miles, betweene the *French* and *Dutch* Plantations; for want of this, I know what grosse *mif-takes* my selfe and others have run into.

There is a mixture of this *Language North* and *South*, from the place of my abode, about six hundred miles; yet within the two hundred miles (aforementioned) their *Dialects* doe exceedingly differ;¹ yet not so, but (within that compasse) a man may, by this *helpe*, converse with *thousands* of *Natives* all over the *Country*: and by such converse it may please the *Father* of *Mercies* to spread *civilitie*, (and in his owne most holy seafon) *Christianitie*; for *one Candle* will light *ten thousand*, and it may please *God* to blesse a *little Leaven* to seafon the *mightie Lump* of those *Peoples* and *Territories*.

It is expected, that having had so much converse with these *Natives*, I should write some litle of them.

Concerning them (a little to gratifie expectation) I shall touch upon *four* *Heads*:

First, by what *Names* they are distinguished.

Secondly, Their *Originall* and *Descent*.

Thirdly, their *Religion*, *Manners*, *Customes*, &c.

Fourthly, That great *Point* of their *Conversion*.

¹ "There is no doubt * * * that the Indians from Saco river to the Hudson, spoke, though with many varieties, what may be considered as the same language, and one of the most extensively spoken amongst those of the Algonkin-Lenape family."—Gallatin's Synopsis, (Trans. A. A. Soc. ii.) 36. Compare Winslow's Good Newes from N. E. (Young's Chron. of the Pilgrims, 366.) Wood's

N. E. Prospect, part 2, chap. 18. The Commissioners of the U. Colonies, in a letter to the Corporation in England in 1660, affirm that the Indian language, "generally, throughout the whole country where the English have to do, is the same, though differing in dialect; yet so as the natives well understand and converse one with another." Records of Comm'rs.

To the first, their *Names* are of two sorts :

First, those of the *English* giving : as *Natives, Salvages, Indians, Wild-men*, (so the *Dutch* call them *Wilden*) *Abergeny men*,² *Pagans, Barbarians, Heathen*.

Secondly, their *Names*, which they give themselves.

I cannot observe, that they ever had (before the coming of the *English, French* or *Dutch* amongst them) any *Names* to difference *themselves* from strangers, for they knew none ; but two sorts of *names* they had, and have amongst *themselves*.

First, *generall*, belonging to all *Natives*, as *Ninnuock*,³ *Nin-nimissinnuwock*,⁴ *Eniskeetompaüwoog*,⁵ which signifies *Men, Folke, or People*.

Secondly, particular *names*, peculiar to severall *Nations*, of

² "These in the Southerne parts be called *Pequants*, and *Narragansetts* ; those who are seated West-ward be called *Connectacuts*, and *Mowbacks* : Our *Indians* that live to the North-ward of them be called *Aberginians*," etc.—Wood's N.E. Prospect, pt. ii. ch. 1.

³ *Nnin*, [pl.] *nninnuog*, man, men, p. 27, post. Quinifis. *Rcn*, pl. *rènnawawok* ; Pierfon's Cat. This was the generic name,—*bomo*. Etymologically, it is related to the pronouns of the first person, *nein* ; to the demonstrative particle, *ne* ; and to the affix of class, kind, or resemblance, *ünne* or *üne*, "such as," "of the kind." It signifies, primarily, "one like myself," "such as I am," or, such as *this* is. Hence, *native*, or *the common*, as opposed to *foreign*, or *strange*.

⁴ *Missinnin*, literally, "one of the many;" pl. *missinnuwock*, (*missinninuog*, Eliot,) "the many," οἱ πολλοί. Here,

the word is compounded with *nnin*,—and signifies *Indian* people not of the speaker's tribe. The Indian, like the Greek, and the modern Chinaman, by the epithet which he applied to other tribes asserted the superiority of his own : and *missinnin* signified not only one of another tribe, but any *inferior*, and so, a *captive*, or bond servant.

⁵ "*Skeetompaüog*, men;" p. 27, post. *Skeetambäwoog*, "persons;" *Eänsketambawog*, "Indians." Pierfon's Catechism. *Skeetomp*, or *Eniskeetomp*, (*wosketomp*, Eliot ; *sasketupe*, "a great man," Wood ;) corresponds to the Latin *vir*, and is the word sometimes translated "a Brave." Its principal root, *omp*, plu. *ompauog*, (from a primary verb, signifying *to stand erect*,) is found, with dialectic differences, in all the languages of the Algonkin family : as in the Abnaki, *aübe* ; Delaw. *lenäpe* ; Cree, *nápäyoog*, (Howse.)

them amongst *themselves*, as, *Nanbigganëuck*,⁶ *Massachusëuck*, *Cawsumsëuck*,⁷ *Cowwesëuck*,⁸ *Quintikôock*,⁹ *Quinnipiëuck*, *Pequittôog*,¹⁰ &c.

They have often asked mee, why we call them *Indians*

⁶ "The *Nanobigganeucks*, or people of *Nanohigganfet*." E. Winflow. (Young's Chron. of the Pilgrims, 285.) Elsewhere Mr. Williams writes *Nanibiggonficks*, *Nanbiggonficks*, *Narriganfet*, *Narrogánfet*, and *Nabigonficks*. See 4 Maf. Hist. Coll., vi. 189, 231, 232, 246, &c. Respecting the interchange of *l*, *n*, and *r*, in different dialects, see, after, p. 107, and Eliot's Indian Grammar, p. 2. In a deposition made in 1682, Mr. Williams said "that being inquisitive of what root the title or denomination *Nabiganfet* should come," he heard that it was "so named from a little Island, between Puttisquemett and Musquomacuk, on the sea and fresh water side." When "about the place called Sugar Loaf Hill," near Wakefield, he "saw it, and was [afterwards?] within a pole of it, but could not learn why it was called *Nahiganfet*." R. I. Hist. Soc. Coll., iii. 4. It may be hardly prudent to venture a conjecture as to the signification of a name whose origin Roger Williams failed to discover; yet I may perhaps be permitted to suggest, that *nái*, "having corners,"—and *naiag* or *aiyag* (as Eliot writes the word,) "a corner," or "angle,"—gave the name to many points of land on the sea coast and rivers of New England,—e. g. *Nayatt* Point, in Barrington; *Nayack*, in Southampton, L. I., &c.;—that *Na-ig-an-eog* (or *Nabiganeuck*) would signify "the people of the point," and *Na-ig-an-fet*, the territory "about the point." Possibly, one of the islands in Point Judith Pond may have received this name; possibly,

one of the many indentations or points of land running into the pond; or, possibly, again, the *great* Point (Judith) and the territory immediately north of it, may have once been the principal seat of the tribe, whence they "transferred and brought their authority and name into those northern parts."

⁷ "The *Massachusets* or *Massabusets*, for so they called the people of that place." Winflow's Good News from N. E. (Young's Chron. of the Pilgrims, 285.)—*Cawsumsëuck*,—probably the *Wampanoags* or *Pokanokets*, whose principal village was at *Sowams* (Warren,) and who occupied the territory "from *Sowanfet* river to *Patucket* River, (with *Cawsumsett* neck,) which is y^e cheefe habitation of y^e *Indeans* & reserved [by *Plymouth*] for them to dwell upon."—Bradford's History of *Plymouth*, 373. Comp. Davis's *Morton's Mem.*, 405; Fessenden's Hist. of *Warren*, 27–30.

⁸ The *Indians* of *Cowefet* (East *Greenwich*).

⁹ Those who lived near "the long river" (*quinnituk*), i. e., at *Connecticut*.

¹⁰ *Pequittôog*, "the destroyers,"—a name given by the neighboring tribes, to that branch of the *Muhhekanew* or *Mohegan* nation which, migrating eastward, from the *Hudson* valley probably, had occupied the territory on both sides of *Mistick* river and extended their conquests over the greater part of eastern *Connecticut*.—See *Church's Philip's War*, by *Dexter*, pt. i. p. 83, note.

Natives, &c. And understanding the reason, they will call themſelves *Indians*, in oppoſition to *Engliſh*, &c.

For the ſecond Head propoſed, their *Originall* and *Deſcent*.

From *Adam* and *Noah* that they ſpring, it is granted on all hands.

But for their later *Deſcent*, and whence they came into thoſe parts, it ſeemes as hard to finde, as to finde the *Well-head* of ſome freſh *Streame*, which running many miles out of the *Countrey* to the ſalt *Ocean*, hath met with many mixing *Streames* by the way. They ſay themſelves, that they have *ſprung* and *growne* up in that very place, like the very *trees* of the *Wilderneſſe*.

They ſay that their *Great God Cawtantowwit*¹¹ created thoſe parts, as I obſerved in the Chapter of their *Religion*. They have no *Clothes*, *Bookes*, nor *Letters*, and conceive their *Fathers* never had; and therefore they are eaſily perſwaded that the *God* that made *Engliſh* men is a greater *God*, becauſe Hee hath ſo richly endowed the *Engliſh* above *themſelves*: But when they heare that about ſixteen hundred yeeres agoe, *England* and the *Inhabitants* thereof were like unto *themſelves*, and ſince have received from *God*, *Clothes*, *Bookes*, &c. they are greatly affected with a ſecret hope concerning *themſelves*.

Wiſe and *Judicious* men, with whom I have diſcourſed, maintaine their *Originall* to be *Northward* from *Tartaria*: and at my now taking ſhip, at the *Dutch Plantation*, it pleaſed the *Dutch Governour*, (in ſome diſcourſe with mee about the *Natives*), to draw their *Line* from *Iceland*, becauſe the name *Sackmakan* (the name for an *Indian Prince*, about the *Dutch*) is the name for a *Prince* in *Iceland*.

Other opinions I could number up: under favour I ſhall

¹¹ See note on *Manit*, ch. xxi. (p. 114².)

present (not mine opinion, but) my *Observations* to the judgement of the Wife.

First, others (and my selfe) have conceived some of their words to hold affinitie with the *Hebrew*.

Secondly, they constantly *annoint* their *heads* as the *Jewes* did.

Thirdly, they give *Dowries* for their wives, as the *Jewes* did.

Fourthly (and which I have not so observed amongst other *Nations* as amongst the *Jewes*, and *these*;) they constantly separate their Women (during the time of their monthly sicknesse) in a little house alone by themselves foure or five dayes, and hold it an *Irreligious thing* for either *Father* or *Husband* or any *Male* to come neere them.

They have often asked me if it bee so with *women* of other *Nations*, and whether they are so *separated*: and for their practice they plead *Nature* and *Tradition*. Yet againe I have found a greater *Affinity* of their Language with the *Greek Tongue*.

2. As the *Greekes* and other *Nations*, and our selves call the seven *Starres* (or Charles Waine the *Beare*,) so doe they *Mosk* or *Paukunnawaw*¹² the *Beare*.

3. They have many strange Relations of one *Wétucks*, a man that wrought great *Miracles* amongst them, and *walking upon the waters*, &c. with some kind of broken Resemblance to the *Sonne of God*.

Lastly, it is famous that the *Sowwest* (*Sowaniu*) is the great Subject of their discourse. From thence their *Traditions*. There they say (at the *South-west*) is the Court of their great *God Cautántowwit*: At the *South-west* are their *Forefathers* foules; *to the South-west* they goe themselves when they dye; From the *South-west* came their *Corne*, and *Beanes* out of their Great *God Cautántowwits* field: and indeed the

¹² See ch. xii. (p. 80.)

further *Northward* and *Westward* from us their Corne will not grow, but to the *Southward* better and better. I dare not conjecture in these *Vncertainties*, I believe they are *lost*, and yet hope (in the Lords holy season) some of the wildest of them shall be found to share in the blood of the Son of God. To the third *Head*, concerning their *Religion, Customs, Manners* &c. I shall here say nothing, because in those 32. Chapters of the whole Book, I have briefly touched those of all sorts, from their *Birth* to their *Burialls*, and have endeavored (as the Nature of the worke would give way) to bring some short *Observations* and *Applications* home to *Europe* from *America*.

Therefore fourthly, to that great Point of their *Conversion* so much to bee longed for, and by all *New-English* so much pretended, and I hope in Truth.

For my selfe I have uprightly laboured to suite my endeavours to my pretences: and of later times (out of desire to attaine their Language) I have run through varieties of *Intercourses* with them Day and Night, Summer and Winter, by Land and Sea, particular passages tending to this, I have related divers, in the Chapter of their Religion.

Many solemne discourses I have had with all *sorts of Nations* of them, from one end of the Countrey to another (so farre as opportunity, and the little Language I have could reach.)

I know there is no small *preparation* in the hearts of Multitudes of them. I know their many solemne *Confessions* to my self, and one to another of their lost *wandring Conditions*.

I know strong *Convictions* upon the *Consciences* of many of them, and their desires uttred that way.

I know not with how little *Knowledge* and *Grace* of Christ the Lord may save, and therefore neither will *despaire*, nor *report* much.

But since it hath pleased some of my Worthy *Countrymen* to mention (of late in print)¹³ *VVequash*, the *Pequet Capitaine*, I shall be bold so farre to second their *Relations*, as to relate mine owne Hopes of Him (though I dare not be so confident as others.¹⁴

Two dayes before his Death, as I past up to *Quinnibicut* River, it pleased my worthy friend Mr. *Fenwick* whom I visited at his house in *Say-Brook* Fort at the mouth of that River) to tell me that my old friend *VVequash* lay very sick: I desired to see him, and Himselfe was pleased to be my Guide two mile where *VVequash* lay.

Amongst other discourse concerning his *sickness* and *Death* (in which hee freely bequeathed his son to Mr. *Fenwick*) I closed with him concerning his *Soule*: Hee told me that some two or three year before he had lodged at my House, where I acquainted him with the *Condition* of all mankind, & his *Own* in particular, how *God* created *Man* and *All things*: how *Man* fell from *God*, and of his present *Enmity*

¹³ In *New England's First Fruits*, printed in London, 1643. Reprinted in *1 Mafs. Hist. Coll.*, vol. i.—In a letter to Gov. Winthrop written in the spring of 1637, before the setting forth of the expedition against the Pequots, Mr. Williams had recommended as guides, "two Pequots, viz. *Wequash* and *Wuttackquammin*, valiant men, . . . who have lived these three or four years with the *Nanhiggonicks*." In a subsequent letter, he commends "*Wequash* the Pequet guide," as "a man of great use." J. Allyn mentions his services, as one of the guides, in the march to *Mistick* fort, and calls him "a Pequot captain, who was revolted from the Pequots."—*Mafs. Hist. Coll.*,

3d Ser., i. 161; 4th Ser., vi. 189, 190; Winthrop, ii. 74: I. Mather's *Relation*, pp. 31, 47, (Drake's ed. 130, 169-70): *Magnalia*, b. vii. c. 6. §2.

¹⁴ "I find no less a person than Mr. Thomas Shepard, of Cambridge, in print reporting his death with such terms as these: '*Wequash*, the famous Indian at the River's mouth, [*Saybrook*,] is dead, and certainly in heaven: gloriously did the grace of Christ shine forth in his conversation, a year and a half before his death; he knew Christ, he loved Christ, he preached Christ up and down; and then suffered martyrdom for Christ;'" etc.—*Magnalia*, (ut supra). The quotation is from *N. E. First Fruits*, p. 7.

againſt *God*, and the *wrath of God* againſt *Him* untill *Repentance*: ſaid he your words words were never out of my heart to this preſent; and ſaid hee me much pray to *Jeſus Chriſt*: I told him ſo did many *Engliſh*, *French*, and *Dutch*, who had never turned to *God*, nor loved *Him*: He replyed in broken *Engliſh*: *Me ſo big naughty Heart, me heart all one ſtone! Savory expreſſions* uſing to breath from *compunct* and *broken Hearts*, and a ſence of *inward hardneſſe* and *unbrokeneſſe*. I had many diſcourſes with him in his Life, but this was the ſumme of our laſt parting untill our generall meeting.

Now becauſe this is the great Inquiry of all men what *Indians* have been converted? what have the *Engliſh* done in thoſe parts? what hopes of the *Indians* receiving the Knowledge of *Chriſt*!

And becauſe to this Queſtion, ſome put an edge from the boalt of the *Jefuits* in *Canada* and *Maryland*, and eſpecially from the wonderfull converſions made by the *Spaniards* and *Portugalls* in the *West-Indies*, beſides what I have here written, as alſo, beſide what I have obſerved in the Chapter of their Religion! I ſhall further preſent you with a briefe Additionall diſcourſe concerning this Great Point, being comfortably perſwaded that that Father of Spirits, who was graciously pleaſed to perſwade *Japhet* (the *Gentiles*) to dwell in the Tents of *Shem* (the *Iewes*) will in his holy ſeaſon (*I* hope approaching) perſwade, theſe *Gentiles of America* to partake of the mercies of *Europe*,¹⁵ and then ſhall bee fulfilled

¹⁵ Mr. Cotton ſpoke leſs hopefully: he “feared Mr. *Williams* his testimony of the facility of ſuch a conversion of the *Indians* was too hyperbolicall;” and relates an anecdote or two, “to ſhew, that though a forme of *Chriſtian Religion* may be profeſſed amongſt *Chriſtians* with ſome facility: yet it is not ſo eaſie a matter to gaine theſe *Pagan Indians* ſo much

as to a forme of our Religion, and to hold it, howſoever Mr. *Williams* did promiſe himſelf greater poſſibilities.”—*Way of Cong. Churches cleared*, part i., pp. 80, 81. See, after, in note to (ch. xxi.) p. 129, an extract from Mr. *Williams*’s diſcourſe “Of the Name *Heathen*.”

what is written, by the Prophet *Malachi*, from the rising of the Sunne in (*Europe*) to the going down of the same (in *America*) my Name shall great among the Gentiles.) So I desire to hope and pray,

Your unworthy Country-man

ROGER WILLIAMS.



Directions for the use of the

L A N G U A G E .

1. **A** Dictionary or Grammer way I had consideration of, but purposely avoided, as not so accommodate to the Benefit of all, as I hope this Forme is.

2. A Dialogue also I had thoughts of, but avoided for brevities sake, and yet (with no small paines) I have so framed every Chapter and the matter of it, as I may call it an Implicite Dialogue.

3. It is framed chiefly after the Narrogánset Dialect, because most spoken in the Countrey, and yet (with attending to the variation of peoples and Dialects) it will be of great use in all parts of the Countrey.

4. Whatever your occasion bee either of Travell, Discourse, Trading &c.

turne to the Table which will direct you to the Proper Chapter.

5. Because the Life of all Language is in the Pronuntiation, I have been at the paines and charges to Cause the Accents, Tones, or sounds to be affixed, (which some understand, according to the Greeke Language, Acutes, Graves, Circumflexes) for example, in the second lease in the word Ewð He: the sound or Tone must not be put on E, but wð where the grave Accent is.

In the same lease, in the word Ascowequásfin, the sound must not be on any of the Syllables, but on quáñ, where the Acute or sharp sound is.

In the same leafe in the word Anspaumpmaûntam, the sound must not be on any other syllable but Maûn, where the Circumflex or long sounding Accent is.

6. *The English for every Indian word or phrase stands in a straight line directly against the Indian: yet sometimes there are two words for the same thing (for their Language is exceeding copious, and they have five or six words sometimes for one thing) and then the English stands against them both: for example in the second leafe,*

Cowáunckamish &

Cuckquénamish.

| I pray your Favour.



AN
 Helpe to the native Language of that part of
America called NEW-ENGLAND.

C H A P. I.
Of Salutation.

Observation.



The Natives are of two sorts, (as the English are.) Some more Rude and Clownish, who are not so apt to Salute, but upon *Salutation* resalute lovingly. Others, and the generall, are *sober* and *grave*, and yet chearfull in a meane, and as ready to begin a Salutation as to Resalute, which yet the English generally begin, out of desire to Civilize them.

2] *What cheare Nétop?* is the generall salutation of all English toward them. *Nétop* is friend.¹⁶

Netompaüog

| *Friends.*

¹⁶ I. e. My friend, or comrade. The initial *n* represents the pronoun of the first person. Literally, *netomp*, (from *netu* and *omp*,) signified a man born in the same house with me, or, of my fam-

ily,—my *kinsman*. Abnaki, *nidaübé*, “mon frère, *seu*, un étranger que j’aime comme mon frère.” Râle. *Nétompaog*, “my friends.” Luke, xii. 4.

They are exceedingly delighted with Salutations in their own Language.

Neèn, Keèn, Ewò,	<i>I, you, he.</i>
Keén ka neen	<i>You and I.</i>
Afco wequáffin	
Afco wequassunnúmmis	<i>Good morrow.</i>
Askuttaaquompsin ?	<i>How doe you ?</i>
Afnpaumpmaúntam	<i>I am very well.</i>
Taubot paumpmaúntaman	<i>I am glad you are well.</i>
Cowaúnckamifh	<i>My service to you.</i>

Obfervation.

This word upon speciall Salutations they use, and upon some offence conceived by the *Sachim* or Prince against any: I have seen the party reverently doe obeysance, by stroking the Prince upon both his sholders, and using this word,

Cowaúnckamifh & Cuckquénamifh	<i>I pray your favour.</i>
Cowaúnckamuck	<i>He salutes you.</i>
Afpaumpmaúntam fachim	<i>How doth the Prince ?</i>
Afpaumpmaúntam Commíttamus ?	<i>How doth your Wife ?</i> [3
Afpaumpmaúntamwock cummuckiaûg ?	<i>How doth your children ?</i>
Konkeeteâug	<i>They are well.</i>
Táubot ne paumpmaunthéttit	<i>I am glad they are well.</i>
Túnna Cowâum	
Tuckôtefshana	<i>Whence come you.</i>
Yò nowaûm	<i>I came that way.</i>
Náwwatuck nóteshem	<i>I came from farre.</i>
Mattaâfu nóteshem	<i>I came from hard by.</i>

Wêtu
 Wetuômuck nóteshem
 Acâwmuck notéshem
 Otàn¹⁷
 Otânick notéshem

An House.
I came from the house.
I came over the water.
A Towne.
I came from the Towne.

Obfervation.

In the Narigánfet Countrey (which is the chief people in the Land :) a man fhall come to many Townes, fome bigger, fome leffer, it may be a dozen in 20. miles Travell.

4] Obfervation.

Acawmenóakit *Old England*, which is as much as from the *Land on t'other fide*:¹⁸ hardly are they brought to believe that that Water is three thousand Englifh mile over, or thereabouts.

Tunnock kuttôme
 Wékick nittôme
 Nékick

Whither goe you ?
To the house.
To my house.

¹⁷ For *otânick*, to or at the town, and *wéickick* (a few lines below,) to or at the houfe,—Eliot wrote, *otanit*, *wekit*. In the Maffachufetts or Natick dialect, the locative affix was *-it*, *-at*, or *-ut*; in the Narraganfett, it appears to have been *-ick*, or *-uck*. This diftinction was not, however, uniformly obferved by Mr. Williams. We have, for example, *ké-saq-ut*, to Heaven, *swowánnak-it* (not *-ick*), to the fouthweft; p. 127.

¹⁸ *Ogkome*, on the other fide; with the locative affix, *ogkomit* (El.), *acâwmuck* (R. W.). Comp. *ogkome tomog-kon-it*, “on the other fide of the flood,”

Jofh. xxiv. 2. So, *ogkome-obke* (*-acawmenóake*,) the other-fide land. Abnaki, *agañmenaw^okik*, “en France.” Râle.—Quinnip., *akkómmuk katbans*, “over the feas.” Pierfon’s Cat. The Powhatans called the eastern fhore of Virginia, by the name which it yet retains, *acâwmuck* (Accomac), land on the other fide of Chéfeapeake Bay. *Agamenticus*, or *Aco-menticus*, the Indian name of York, Me., had perhaps a fimilar origin,—as “beyond the river” (*acawmen-tuk*), to tribes living weft and fouth of the Pifcataqua, or north and eaft of the Saco.

Kékick	<i>To your house.</i>
Tuckowêkin	<i>Where dwell you ?</i>
Tuckuttiin	<i>Where keep you ?</i>
Matnowetuómeno	<i>I have no house.</i>

Observation.

As commonly a single person hath no house, so after the death of a Husband or Wife, they often break up house, and live here and there a while with Friends, to allay their excessive Sorrowes.

Tou wuttiin ?	<i>Where lives he ?</i>
Awânick ûchick	<i>Who are these ?</i>
Awaùn ewò ?	<i>Who is that ?</i>
Túnna úmwock ?	<i>Whence come they ?</i>
Tunna Wutshaúock	<i>I dwell here.</i>
Yo nowêkin	<i>I live here.</i>
Yo ntiin	<i>Is it so ?</i>
5] Eiu or Nniú ?	<i>Yea.</i>
Nùx	<i>I have heard nothing.</i>
Mat nippompitámmen	<i>A name.</i>
Wéfuonck	<i>What is your name ?</i>
Tocketuffawêitch	<i>Doe you aske my name ?</i>
Taantúffawefe ?	<i>I am called, &c.</i>
Ntúffawefe	<i>I have no name.</i>
Matnowefuónckane	

Observation.

Obscure and meane persons amongst them have no Names: *Nullius numeri, &c.* as the Lord Jesus foretells his followers, that their Names should be cast out, *Luk. 6. 22.* as not

worthy to be named, &c. Againe, because they abhorre to name the dead (Death being the King of Terrours to all naturall men: and though the Natives hold the Soule to live ever, yet not holding a Resurrection, they die, and mourn without Hope.) In that respect I say if any of their *Sáchims* or neighbours die who were of their names, they lay down those Names as dead.

Nowánehick nowéfuonck | *I have forgot my Name.*

Which is common amongst some of them, this being one Incivilitie amongst the more [6] rusticall sort, not to call each other by their Names, but Keen, *You*, Ewò *He*, &c.

Tahéna

| *What is his name ?*

Tahoffowétam

| *What is the name of it ?*

Tahéttamen

| *What call you this ?*

Teáqua

| *What is this ?*

Yò néepoush

| *Stay or stand here.*

Máttapsh

| *Sit down.*

Noónshem

| *I cannot.*

Nonânum

Tawhitch kuppee yaúmen¹⁹

| *What come you for ?*

Téaqua kunnaúnta men

| *What doe you fetch ?*

Chenock cuppeeyâu mis ?

| *When came you ?*

Maish-kitummâyi²⁰

| *Just even now.*

Kitummâyi nippeéam

| *I came just now.*

Yò Committamus ?

| *Is this your Wife ?*

Yo cuppáppoo

| *Is this your Child ?*

Yò cummúckquachucks

| *Is this your Son ?*

Yò cuttaúnis

| *Is this your Daughter ?*

¹⁹ *Kuppeeyâumen* should have been printed as one word. So, *kunnaúntamen*, and *cuppeeyâumis*, below.

²⁰ This should have been printed, *Maish, kitummâyi*, Just, even now.

Wunnêtu
 Tawhich neepouweéyea
 Pucquatchick ?
 7] Tawhitch mat pe titeá-
 yeay?²¹

It is a fine Child.
Why stand you ?
Without dores.
Why come you not in ?

Obſerv.

In this reſpect they are remarkably free and courteous, to invite all Strangers in ; and if any come to them upon any occaſion they requeſt them to *come in*, if they come not in of themſelves.

Awáſſiſh
 Máttapſh yóteg
 Tocketúnnawem
 Keén nétop ?
 Peeyàuſh nétop
 Péтитеs
 Kunnúnni
 Kunnúnous
 Taubot mequaun
 namêan
 Taûbotneanawáyea
 Taûbotne aunanamêan

Warme you.
Sit by the fire.
What ſay you ?
Is it you friend.
Come hitber friend.
Come in.
Have you ſeene me ?
I have ſeen you.
*I thank you for your kind
 remembrance.*
I thank you.
I thank you for your love.

Obſerv.

I have acknowledged amongſt them an heart ſenſible of kindneſſes, and have reaped kindneſſe again from many, ſeaven yeares after, when I my ſelfe had forgotten, &c. hence 8] the Lord Jeſus exhorts his followers to doe good for evill : for otherwiſe, ſinners will do good for good, kindneſſe for kindneſſe, &c.

²¹ *Petiteáyea* ſhould have been printed without diviſion.

Cowàmmaunsh	<i>I love you.</i>
Cowammaúnuck	<i>He loves you.</i>
Cowámmaus	<i>You are loving.</i>
Cowâutam ?	<i>Understand you ?</i>
Nowaûtam	<i>I understand.</i>
Cowâwtam tawhitche nip- peeyaûmen	<i>Doe you know why I come.</i>
Cowannântam	<i>Have you forgotten ?</i>
Awanagufântowofh ²²	<i>Speake English.</i>
Eenântowash ²³	<i>Speake Indian.</i>
Cutehanshishaûmo	<i>How many were you in Com- pany ?</i>
Kúnnishishem ?	<i>Are you alone ?</i>
Nníshishem	<i>I am alone.</i>
Naneeshâumo	<i>There be 2. of us.</i>
Nanshwishâwmen	<i>We are 4.</i>
Npiuckshâwmen	<i>We are 10.</i>
Neesneechecktashâûmen	<i>We are 20. &c.</i>
Nquitpaufuckowashâwmen	<i>We are an 100.</i>
Comishoonhómmiss	<i>Did you come by boate ?</i>
Kuttiakewushâûmiss	<i>Came you by land ?</i>
Mesh nomishoonhómmin	<i>I came by boat.</i>
9] meshntiauké wushem	<i>I came by land.</i>
Nippenowântawem	<i>I am of another language</i>
Penowantowawhettûock	<i>They are of a divers language.</i>
Mat nowawtau hettémina	<i>We understand not each other.</i>
Nummaûchenèm ?	<i>I am sicke.</i>
Cummaûchenem ?	<i>Are you sicke ?</i>

²² *Unnontawam*, he speaks (a language). Eliot. Imp. *ontowash*, or *antowash*, speak thou. *Awanagus*, Englishman, (*lit.* some one not Indian, a stranger. See p. 59.)

²³ *Een*.—See before, note 3. Comp. *Esquimaux*, *innuk*, pl. *innuit*, men (of their own race.) *Nanticoke*, *ibn*, *iin*, an Indian. Gallatin's Synopsis.

Tafhúckqunne cummauche- naûmis		<i>How long have you been sicke?</i>
Nummauchêmin <i>or</i> Ntannetéimmin		<i>I will be going.</i>
Saûop Cummauchêmin		<i>You shall goe to morrow.</i>
Maúchish ²⁴ <i>or</i> ànakish		<i>Be going.</i>
Kuttannâwshesh		<i>Depart.</i>
Mauchéi <i>or</i> ànittui		<i>He is gone.</i>
Kautanaûshant		<i>He being gone.</i>
Mauchéhettit <i>or</i> Kautanawhàwhettit		<i>When they are gone.</i>
Kukkowêtous		<i>I will lodge with you.</i>
Yò Cówish		<i>Do, lodge here.</i>
Hawúnshch		<i>Farewell.</i>
Chénock wonck cuppee- yeâumen?		<i>When will you be here again?</i>
Nétop tattà		<i>My friend I can not tell.</i>

From these courteous *Salutations* Observe in generall :
There is a favour of *civility* and [10] *courtesie* even amongst
these wild *Americans*, both amongst *themselves* and towards
strangers.

More particular :

1. *The courteous Pagan shall condemne
Uncourteous Englishmen,
Who live like Foxes, Beares and Wolves,
Or Lyon in his Den.*

²⁴ El. *Monchisb*, go thou, Luke x. 37; *monchék*, go ye, Matt. xxviii. 19: *monchu*, he goes. (The difference of dialects is only apparent. The long vowel

of the first syllable was nafal. It is so marked by Râle in the corresponding Abnaki verb, *nemañtsi*, je m'en vas.)

2. *Let none sing blessings to their souls,
For that they Courteous are:
The wild Barbarians with no more
Then Nature, goe so farre :*
3. *If Natures Sons both wild and tame,
Humane and Courteous be:
How ill becomes it Sonnes of God
To want Humanity?*

C H A P. I I.

Of *Eating* and *Entertainment*.

A Scúmetesímmis?
Matta niccattuppúm-
min
Niccàwkatone
Mannippêno?
Nip, or nipêwefe²⁵
Nàmitch, commetesímmin
I I] Téaquacumméich
Nókehick.²⁶

*Have you not yet eaten?
I am not hungry.*

I am thirstie.

Have you no water?

Give me some water.

Stay, you must eat first.

What will you eat?

Parch'd meal which is a readie

²⁵ *Nip*, (*nippe*, El.) water; dimin., *nipêwefe*, a little water. (The verb is not expressed.) Eliot uses another form of the diminutive, *nippêmes*, "a little water," 1 Kings, xvii. 10.—Abn. *nebi*: Chip. *nébeb*; Cree, *nippu* (Howse).

²⁶ *Nókkik* is used by Eliot for "meal" (1 Chron. 12: 40,) "flour," (Lev. 2: 4, 5, 7, &c.) "ground corn," (2 Sam. 17: 19.) It is, in form, a verbal, signifying "made soft," or tender,—from *nókki* [it is] soft.—"*Nocake*, (as they call it) which is nothing but Indian

corn parched in the hot ashes; the ashes being sifted from it, it is afterward beaten to powder, and put into a long leatherne bag, trussed at their backe like a knapsacke; out of which they take thrice three spoonfulls a day, dividing it into three meales." Wood's N. E. Prospect, pt. 2, ch. 6. See also, Gookin's Hist. Coll., in 1 Mas. Hist. Coll., i. 150. S. Wood's Montauk vocabulary gives *Yeokebeag*,—the name by which "roast corn pounded" is sti^l known in eastern Connecticut.

very wholesome food, which they eat with a little water, hot or cold; I have travelled with neere 200. of them at once, neere 100. miles through the woods, every man carrying a *little Basket* of this at his *back*, and sometimes in a hollow *Leather Girdle* about his middle sufficient for a man three or foure daies:

With this readie provision, and their *Bow* and *Arrowes*, are they ready for *War*, and *travell* at an *houres* warning. With a *spoonfull* of this *meale* and a *spoonfull* of water from the *Brooke*, have I made many a good dinner and supper.

Aupúmmineanash.²⁷
Aupúminea-nawfaùmp.

Msíckquatafh.²⁸
Manufqufsédafh.
Nasàump.²⁹

The parch'd corne.
The parc'd meale boild with water at their houses, which is the wholesomest diet they have.
Boild corne whole.
Beanes.
A kind of meale pottage, un-partch'd.

²⁷ *Appuminnéonash*, parched corn, (Eliot, in 1 Sam. 17: 17.) From *appoon*, *apwóon*, (he bakes, or roasts,) and *min*, pl. *minneash*, the generic noun, sign. fruit, grain, or berry. Abn. *abiminañnar*, "blé groulé." Râle. In this, and other compounds of *minneash*, we discover the origin of the much-corrupted modern name, *homony*.

²⁸ Derived, apparently, from *sukquttabham* (El.) he beats it to pieces (i. e. *shells*, or removes it from the cob); inan. plur. participial, *sukquttabbafsh*, with the indefinite particle *m'* prefixed, "the beaten-to-pieces [corn]." The name is retained, as *succotafsh*.—"They seldom or

never make bread of their Indian corne, but seeth it whole like beanes, eating three or foure cornes with a mouthfull of fish or flesh." Wood's N. E. Prospect, part 2, ch. 6.

²⁹ "*Nasamp*, pottage." Wood: Montauk, *seamp*, "pounded corn." S. Wood: Abnaki, *nfsañbañn*, "sagamité." Râle. The root is *saupæ* (El.) soft, i. e. made soft by water: as *saupæ manoonfk*, "mortar," lit. softened clay. Genesis 11: 3. Hence, the Dutch *sappaen* [*sepawn*, *sepon*, Webster], "the crushed corn boiled to a pap." Descríp. of N. Netherland, 1671.

From this the *English* call their *Samp*, which is the *Indian* corne, beaten and boild, and eaten hot or cold with milke or butter, which are [12] mercies beyond the *Natives* plaine water, and which is a dish exceeding wholesome for the *English* bodies.

Puttuckqunnége.
 Puttuckqunnégunafh
 • puttúckqui.
 Teágun kuttiemaûnch?
 Assámme.
 Ncàttup.
 Wúnna ncàttup.
 Nippaskanaûntum.
 Pàutous notatàm.
 Sókenish.
 Cofaûme fokenúmmis.
 Wuttàttash.
 Nquitchetàmmín.
 Qúitchetash.
 Saunqui nip?
 Saunkopaûgot.³⁰
 Chowhêfu.
 Aquie wuttàttash.

A Cake.
Cakes or loves
round.
What shall I dresse for you?
Give me to eate.
I am hungrie.
I am very hungry.
I am almost starved.
Give me drinke.
Powre forth.
You have powred out too much.
Drinke.
Let me taste.
Taste.
Is the water coo[le]
Coole water.
It is warme.
Doe not drinke.

³⁰ *Sonqui* (El.), cold; *sonkipog* [*sonk-qui-pog*], cold water, Prov. 25: 25; "a cup of cold water," Matt. 10: 42; Mark 9: 41. The form given by Mr. Williams is that of a verb in the subjunctive, *sonkipog-ot*, "water when it is cold." Comp. *mishippagot*, "much water," John, 3: 23. *-Pog* (*-paug*, *-pâg*, *-baug*, etc., as variously written,) is one of those inseparable generic nouns, the frequent use

of which is a prominent characteristic of the Indian languages. The radical was *pâ* or *pê*, which, with the demonstrative and definitive *ne* prefixed, formed the noun, *nippe*, *nip*; water; but in compound words, another derivative, — *póg*, was employed. In like manner, for *sêip* (*sêpe*), a river, was substituted, in forming compound words, the inseparable generic, *-tuk*. (See, after, ch. xvi. p. 92.)

Aquie waúmatous.
 Necawni mèich teàqua.
 Tawhitch mat mechóan.
 13] Wuffaúme kufópita.
 Teàguun numméitch
 Mateàg keefitáuanò?
 Mateág mécho ewò.
 Cotchikéfu affamme.
 Cotchekúnnemi weeyous.
 Metesittuck.
 Pautiínnea méchimucks.
 Numwàutous.
 Mihtukméchakick.³¹

ed (living between three and foure hundred miles West into the land) from their eating only *Mibtúchquaſh*, that is, Trees: They are *Men-eaters*, they ſet no corne, but live on the *bark* of *Cbeſnut* and *Walnut*, and other fine trees: They dry and eat this *bark* with the fat of Beasts, and ſometimes of men: This people are the *terror* of the neighbour *Natives*; and yet theſe *Rebells*, the Sonne of God may in time ſubdue.

Mauchepweéean.
 Maúchepwucks.
 Maúchepwut.
 Paúshaqua maúchepwut.

Doe not drinke all.
Fiſt eat ſomething:
Why eat you not?
It is too hot.
What ſhall I eate?
Is there nothing ready boyld?
He eats nothing.
Cut me a piece.
Cut me ſome meat.
Let us goe eate.
Bring hither ſome victualls.
Fill the diſh.

Tree-eaters. A people ſo call-

After I have eaten.
After meales.
When he bath eaten.
After dinner.

³¹ *Mibtuk* (*mibtúck*, ch. xvi. p. 92.) a tree: *mécb* (*meech*, El.) he eats; particip. plur. *mécbakick* (*meechikig*, El.) The northern Algonkins are ſaid to have received from the Iroquois the contemptuous appellation of *Adirondacks* (*Ratiron-taks*), "tree-eaters." See Hiſt. Magazine, iv 117, 369. Poſſibly this name, or its equivalent, was applied by the

ſouthern tribes of New England to the "Taranteens," or, ſpecially, to the Algonkins of the Ottawa River and about Lake Huron. Yet, by deſcribing the "tree-eaters" as cannibals, and "the terror of the neighbour Natives," Mr. Williams appears to have identified (or confounded) them with the Mohawks. See, after, p. 16.

14] Wàyeyant maúchepwut	<i>After supper.</i>
Nquittmaúntash.	<i>Smell.</i>
Weetimóquat.	<i>It smells sweet.</i>
Machemóquat.	<i>It stinks.</i>
Weékan.	<i>It is sweet.</i>
Machíppoquat.	<i>It is sowre.</i>
Aúwuffe weékan.	<i>It is sweeter.</i>
Askùn.	<i>It is raw.</i>
Noónat.	<i>Not enough.</i>
Wusàume wékiffu.	<i>Too much either boyled or roasted.</i>
Waümet Taúbi. ³²	<i>It is enough.</i>
Wuttattumútta.	<i>Let us drinke.</i>
Neefneechàhettit taúbi.	<i>Eenough for twentie men.</i>
Mattacuckquàw.	<i>A Cooke.</i>
Mattacúquafl.	<i>Cooke or dresse.</i>
Matcuttàflamiin?	<i>Will you not give me to eate?</i>
Keen méitch.	<i>I pray eate.</i>

They generally all take *Tobacco*; and it is commonly the only plant which men labour in; the women managing all the rest: they say they take *Tobacco* for two causes; first, against the rheume, which caveth the toothake, which they are impatient of: secondly, to revive and refresh them, they drinking nothing but water.

15] Squuttame.	<i>Give me your pipe.</i>
Petasinna, or, Wuttammafin. ³³	<i>Give mee some Tabacco.</i>

³² The two words should be separated by a comma. *Waümet*, (from *wàme*, all, the whole,) when all is [eaten]: *Taúbi* (*taupi*, *tâpi*, El.) when there is sufficient; enough.

³³ See ch. vi. (pp. 44, 45.) Wood's vocabulary gives "*ottommaocke*, tobacco;"

"*petta sinna*, give me a pipe of tobacco." *Wuttammauog*, (as Mr. Williams writes it, p. 45,) the name of "a weak tobacco, which the men plant themselves," signifies, literally, "[what] they *drink*." In the first half of the seventeenth century, the English, as well as the Indians, spoke of

Ncattaûntum, *or*,
 Ncättiteam.
 Mâuchinaash nowépitéafs.
 Nummafhackquneaûmen.
 Mafhackquineâug.
 Aúcuck.³⁴
 Mífhquockuk.
 Nétop kuttâffammífh.
 Quâmphafh quamphomínea.
 Eippoquat,
 Teàqua afpúckquat?
 Nowétipo.
 Wenómeneash.
 Waweécocks.
 Nemaúanaash.
 Nemaúaninnuit.
 Tackhúmmín.
 Tackhumíinnea.
 Pífhquéhíck.
 Nummaùchip nup mauchep-
 úmmín.

I long for that.

My teeth are naught.

Wee are in a dearth.

We have no food.

A Kettle.

A red Copper Kettle.

Friend, I have brought you this.

Take up for me out of the pot.

It is fweet.

What doth it taste of?

I like this.

Grapes or Rayfins.

*Figs, or some ftrange fweet
 meat.*

Provfion for the way.

A fnapfacke.

To grind corne.

Beat me parch'd meale.

Vnparch'd meale.

We have eaten all.

“drinking” tobacco, when we fhould fay (with lefs accuracy, perhaps,) “fmoking.” Wood writes, “*coetop*, will you drinke Tobacco?” In Mourt’s Relation (Dexter’s ed., p. 94,) Maffafoit is faid to have had, hanging behind his neck, “a little bagg of Tobacco, which he dranke, and gave us to drinke.” See Young’s Chron. of the Pilgr. Fathers, 188, note. In the Abnaki, *wdamé* [*wut-tamme*, as R. Williams would have written it,] fign. “il pétune,” he takes tobacco; *wdâmañ*, “pétun;” *bitfenéwi* [=pet-

asinna, R. W.] “charge le calumet pour moi.” — Râle.

³⁴ *Abkubq*, and *Obkuk*, Eliot: primarily, an earthern vefel; from *obke*, *auke*, earth. — “The pots they feeth their food in, which were heretofore, and yet are, in ufe among fome of them, are made of clay or earth, almoft in the form of an egg, the top taken off. The clay or earth they were made of [foap-ftone, or featite,] was very fcarce and dear.” Gookin’s Hift. Coll., 1 Mafs. Historical Coll., i. 151.

16] Cowàump?

Nowâump.

Mohowaúgfuck, or Mau-
quàuog, from móho to
eate.³⁵Cummóhucquock.³⁶

Whomsoever commeth in when they are eating, they offer them to eat of that which they have, though but little enough prepar'd for themselves. If any provision of *fish* or *flesh* come in, they make their neighbours partakers with them.

³⁵ Comp. p. 13, and, after, ch. vi. p. 45; ch. vii. p. 49. Mr. Williams here gives the signification of the names by which the Iroquois (and especially, their easternmost nation, the *Kayingebaga*, or *Ganegabaga*,) were known to the Indians of New England, to the English and the Dutch. The three principal Algonkin verbs signifying "to eat," were, as written by Eliot, (1) *meetsu*, intransitive, he eats, i. e. takes food, [infinitive, *metesimmin*, p. 186; in the Delaware, *mitzin*, Heckw.]; (2) *meech*, transitive-inanimate, he eats *vegetable* food, or any thing which *has not life*; and (3) *mobwobou*, *moowbau*, [*mobowau*, R. W.] trans.-anim. he eats that which *lives*, or has life, — or that which, by a peculiarity of Indian grammar, is classed with animate beings. Thus *moowbau locusts*, "he did eat locusts," Mark i. 6; *puppinašim um-mobwobou-ub*, the beast he-devoured-him, Gen. 37, 20. In the plural, *mobowaug* (*moowbauog*, El.,) they eat what lives, or has life. ["The *Mauquawogs* or *Mobowaogs*, which signifies men-eaters in their language." — R. W. in letter to Winthrop, 4 Maf. Hist. Coll., vi. 239.]

*Have you enough?**I have enough.*

*The Canibals, or, Men-eaters,
up into the west, two, three or
four hundred miles from us.
They will eate you.*

Hence, plainly enough, the English name, *Mobocks*, *Mobawuks* or *Mowbacks*, for that "cruell bloody people . . . very Caniballs they were," as Wood was informed, — "sometimes eating on a man one part after another before his face, and *while yet living*." N. E. Prospect, pt. 2, ch. 1. Comp. Josselyn's Voyages, 148. — The Dutch form of the name was *Mabakuaas*, and by contraction, *Maquas*. A writer in the Historical Magazine, ii. 153, has suggested that this is "but the translation of the name [*Ganniagwari*, a she-bear,] given by the nation to themselves;" since, in many of the Algonkin dialects, "*Maqua* means *the Bear*:" but he has overlooked the fact, that, in other dialects, the same word and its derivatives are names of the *Wolf*; (see Gallatin's Vocabularies, Trans. A. A. Soc., ii. 341;) and the probability that both wolf and bear were so called, because they are beasts of prey, flesh-eaters, *mauquàuog*. [Râle, s. v. "Manger," gives for the Abnaki, *ne-môbañœk mîgœak*, "Je mange l'Iroquois."]

³⁶ *Nob mōbbukque*, "he that eateth me," John vi. 57.

If any stranger come in, they presently give him to eate of what they have; many a time, and at all times of the night (as I have fallen in travell upon their houses) when nothing hath been ready, have themselves and their wives, risen to prepare me some refreshing.

The observation generall from their eating, &c.

It is a strange *truth* that a man shall generally finde more free entertainment and refreshing amongst these *Barbarians*, then amongst thousands that call themselves *Christians*.

17] More particular :

1 *Course bread and water's most their fare,*
O Englands diet fine;

Thy cup runs ore with plenteous store
Of wholesome beere and wine.

2 *Sometimes God gives them Fish or Flesh,*
Yet they're content without;
And what comes in, they part to friends
and strangers round about.

3 *Gods providence is rich to his,*
Let none distrustfull be;
In wildernesse, in great distresse,
These Ravens have fed me.

CHAP. III.

Concerning Sleepe and Lodging.

NSowwushkâwmen
Nkâtaquam.
Kukkovetous.

| *I am weary.*
| *I am sleepe.*
| *Shall I lodge here?*

Yo nickowémen ?	<i>Shall I sleepe here ?</i>
Kukkowéti.	<i>Will you sleepe here ?</i>
Wunnégin, cówish.	<i>Welcome, sleepe here.</i>
Nummouaquômen.	<i>I will lodge abroad.</i>
18] Puckquátchick nickou- êmen.	<i>I will sleepe without the the doores, Which I have knowne</i>

them contentedly doe, by a fire under a tree, when sometimes some *English* have (for want of familiaritie and language with them) been fearefull to entertaine them.

In Summer-time I have knowne them lye abroad often themselves, to make roome for strangers, *English*, or others.

Mouaquómitca.	<i>Let us lye abroad.</i>
Cowwétuck.	<i>Let us sleepe.</i>
Kukkóuene ?	<i>Sleepe you ?</i>
Cowwêke.	<i>Sleepe, sleepe.</i>
Cowwêwi.	<i>He is asleepe.</i>
Cowwêwock.	<i>They sleepe.</i>
Askukkówene ?	<i>Sleepe you yet ?</i>
Takitíppocat.	<i>It is a cold night.</i>
Wekitíppocat.	<i>It is a warme night.</i>
Wauwháutowaw ánowat, &	<i>Ther is an alarme, or, there is</i>

a great shouting : Howling and shouting is their Alarme; they having no Drums nor Trumpets: but whether an enemie approach, or fire breake out, this Alarme passeth from house to house; yea, commonly, if any *English* or *Dutch* come amongst them they give notice of strangers by this signe; yet I have knowne them buy and use a *Dutch* [19] Trumpet, and knowne a *Native* make a good Drum in imitation of the *English*.

Matannauke, or Mat- tannàukanash	<i>A finer sort of mats to sleep on.</i>
-------------------------------------	--

Maskítuash		<i>Straw to ly on.</i>
Wuddtúckqunash ³⁷ ponamâuta		<i>Let us lay on wood.</i>

This they doe plentifully when they lie down to sleep winter and summer, abundance they have and abundance they lay on: their Fire is instead of our bedcloaths. And so, themselves and any that have occasion to lodge with them, must be content to turne often to the Fire, if the night be cold, and they who first wake must reaire the Fire.

Mauataúnamoke		<i>Mend the fire.</i>
Mauataunamútta		<i>Let us mend the fire.</i>
Tokêstuck		<i>Let us wake.</i>
Askuttokémis		<i>Are you not awake yet.</i>
Tókish, Tókeke ³⁸		<i>Wake wake</i>
Tókinish		<i>Wake him.</i>
Kitumyái tokéan		<i>As soone as I wake.</i>
Ntunnaquômen		<i>I have had a good dream.</i>
Nummattaquômen		<i>I have had a bad dream.</i>

When they have a bad Dreame, which they conceive to be a threatning from God, they fall to prayer at all times of the night, especially early before day: So *Davids* zealous heart [20] to the true and living God: *At midnight will I rise, &c. I prevented the dawning of the day, &c.* Pfal. 119. &c.

Wunnakukkússaquaùm		<i>You sleep much.</i>
Peeyaântam ³⁹		<i>He prayes.</i>
Peeyâuntamwock		<i>They pray.</i>

³⁷ The repetition of *d*, in the first syllable is an error of the press. See the same phrase, p. 33. *Wuttuk, wuttubqun*, a branch or bough (Eliot),—hence,

wood for burning, Prov. xxvi. 20.

³⁸ Imperative, singular and plural: *tókish*, wake thou; *tókek*, wake ye. El.

³⁹ *Peantam*; pl. *peantamwoog*. El.

Túnna kukkowémis | *Where slept you ?*
 Awaunwé[k]ick kukkouémis | *At whose house did you sleep ?*

I once travailed to an Iland of the wildest in our parts, where in the night an Indian (as he said) had a vision or dream of the Sun (whom they worship for a God) darting a Beame into his Breast which he conceived to be the Messenger of his Death: this poore Native call'd his Friends and neighbours, and prepared some little refreshing for them, but himselfe was kept waking and Fasting in great Humiliations and Invocations for 10. dayes and nights: I was alone (having travailed from my Barke, the wind being contrary) and little could I speake to them to their understandings, especially because of the change of their Dialect, or manner of Speech from our neighbours: yet so much (through the help of God) I did speake, of the *True and living only Wise God*, of the Creation: of Man, and his fall 21] from God, &c. that at parting many burst forth, *Oh when will you come againe, to bring us some more newes of this God ?*

From their Sleeping: The Observation generall.

Sweet rest is not confin'd to soft Beds, for, not only God gives his beloved sleep on hard lodgings: but also Nature and Custome gives sound sleep to these Americans on the Earth, on a Boord or Mat. Yet how is *Europe* bound to God for better lodging, &c.

More particular.

1. *God gives them sleep on Ground, on Straw, on Sedgie Mats or Boord: When English softest Beds of Downe, sometimes no sleep afford.*

2. *I have knowne them leave their House and Mat
to lodge a Friend or stranger,
When Jewes and Christians oft have sent
Christ Jesus to the Manger.*
3. *'Fore day they invoke their Gods,
though Many, False and New :
O how should that God worshipt be,
who is but One and True ?*

22]

CHAP. IIII.

Of their Names.⁴⁰

N Quit ⁴¹	One
Neèffe	2.
Niffh	3.
Yòh	4.
Napàнна	5.
Qúttá	6.
énada	7.
Shwófuck	8.

⁴⁰ "Names," for "Numbers," — an error of the original edition.

⁴¹ But "*pâwfuck*, 1," on p. 25; and "*nquit pâwfuck*, 100." — "Eliot in his Grammar, gives for the numeral *one*, only the word *nequit*, corresponding to the Delaware *n'gutti* and the Narrag. *nquit*. But in his Bible he uses also the word *pasuk*, corresponding to the Abnaki *pêzekaw* of Father Râle's dictionary, and the Narrag. *pâwfuck* of Roger Williams's

Key." Pickering, in Notes to El. Grammar, xlv. Cotton (in 3 Mass. Hist. Coll., ii. 235,) makes this questionable distinction; "*nequit*, a thing that is past; *pasuk*, a thing in being." The primary signification of *nquit* seems to be, first in order, rather than in time, — the beginning of a series or of progression not yet completed; while *pâwfuck* is non-connotative, denoting *one by itself*, a unit, without reference to a series.

Paskúgit	9.
Piùck	10.
Piucknabna quit	11.
Piucknab nèefe	12,
Piucknab nìfh	13,
Piucknab yòh	14,
Piucknab napàнна	15,
Piucknab naqúтта	16,
Piucknab éнада	17,
Piucknabna shwófuck	18,
Piucknab napaskúgit	19,
Neefneéchick	20,
23] Neefneéchick nab na- quit, &c.	21,
Shwínckeck	30, &c.
Swíncheck nab naquit, &c.	31, &c.
Yowínicheck	40.
Yówinicheck nabnaqit, &c.	41, &c.
Napannetafhincheck	50,
Napannetafhincheck nabna quit	51, &c.
Quttatafhincheck	60,
Quttatafhincheck nab na quit	61, &c.
Enadatafhincheck	70,
Enadatafhincheck nabna quit	71, &c.
Swoafuck ta fhin check	80,
Shwoafuck ta fhincheck nebna quit	81, &c.
Paskugit tashincheck, &c.	90,
Paskugit tashin check nabna quit &c.	91, &c.
Nquit pâwfuck	100.

Nees pâwfuck	200.
Shweepâwfuck	300.
24] Yówe pâwfuck	400,
Napannetaſhe pâwfuck	500,
Qúttataſhe pâwfuck	600,
Enadataſhepâwfuck	700,
Shoafucktaſhe pâwfuck	800,
Paskugit taſhepâwfuck	900,
Nquittemittànnug	1000,
Neefe mittànnug	2000,
Niſhwe mittànnug	3000,
Yowe mittànnug	4000,
Napannetaſhemittànnug	5000,
Quttataſhe mit tànnug	6000
Enadataſhemit tànnug	7000,
Shoafuck ta ſhe mittànnug	8000,
Paskugittaſhemittànnug	9000,
Piuckque mittànnug	10000, -
Neefneecheck taſhe mit- tànug	20000,
Shwinchecktaſhe mittànnug	30000,
25] Yowincheck taſhemit- tànug	40000,
Napannetaſhincheck taſhe- mittànnug	50000.
Quttataſhincheck taſhemit- tànug	60000.
Enadataſhincheck taſhe mit- tànuck	70000.
Shoafuck taſhincheck taſhe mittànnug	80000.
Pàskugit taſhincheck taſhe mittànnug	90000.

Nquit paufuckóemittàn- nug, &c.	100000.
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Having no Letters nor Arts, 'tis admirable how quick they are in casting up great numbers, with the helpe of graines of Corne, instead of *Europes* pens or counters.

Numbers of the masculine gender.⁴²

Pâwfuck	1.	
Neéfwock	2.	Skeetomp a <i>Man</i> .
Shúog	3.	
Yówock	4.	} Skeetom } Paúog, } <i>Men</i> .
Napannetafúog	5. <i>as</i> ,	
Quttafúog	6.	
Enada tafúog	7.	
Shoafuck tafúog	8.	
26] Paskugit tafúog	9.	
Piuckfúog	10.	
Piuckfúog nabnaquit	11.	

Of the *Feminine* Gender.

Pâwfuck	1
Neénafh	2
Swínafh	3

⁴² The two great classes of nouns here distinguished as masculine and feminine were more accurately designated by Eliot (Grammar, 9.) *animate* and *inanimate*, and by the French missionaries, *noble* and *ignoble*. The former comprised all *animate beings*, and with them, the stars, and various objects (not the same in every dialect,) which were held in peculiar esteem. See Gallatin's Synopsis, 169, 221, 225. These form the plural, in the *Más*. and *Narrag.* dialects, in *-og*,

-ock, or *-uck*. The *inanimate* nouns have their plural in *-asb*. *Obtomp*, a bow, *asbòp*, a net for fish, *appèb*, a snare or trap,—and a few other implements of war and the chase were honored with inclusion in the first or noble class. In the Delaware and Chippeway, grasses, trees and plants (except annuals) were reckoned as animates; in the *Massachusetts* and *Narraganfett*, as inanimates.—Gallatin, l. c.; *El. Gram.* 10, and *Du Ponceau's Notes*, xiii.

Yowúnnafh	4	as, {	Wauchò
Napannetashínafh	5		Hill.
Quttatashínafh	6		Wauchóafh
Enadtafshínafh	7		Hills.
Shoafucktafshínafh	8		
Paskugittafshínafh	9		
Piúckquatafsh	10		
Piúckquatafsh nabnaquit.	11		

From their Numbers, Observation General.

Let it be considered, whether *Tradition* of ancient *Forefathers*, or *Nature* hath taught them *Europes Arithmaticke*.

More particular :

- 1 *Their Braines are quick, their hands,
Their feet, their tongues, their eyes :*
- 27] *God may fit objects in his time,
To those quicke faculties.*
- 2 *Objects of higher nature make them tell,
The holy number of his Sons Gospel :*
*Make them and us to tell what told may be ;
But stand amazed at Eternitie.*

CHAP. V.

*Of their relations of confanguinitie and affinitie, or,
Blood and Marriage.*

N Nin-nnúnuog, | *Man-men.*
& Skeétomp-aúog⁴³

⁴³ See, before, notes 3 and 5.

Squàws-fuck.⁴⁴
 Kichize, &
 Kichizuck⁴⁵
 Hômes, &
 Hômesfuck
 Kutchinnu⁴⁶
 Kutchinnuwock.
 Wuskeène
 Wuskeeneéfuck.
 Wénife⁴⁷ &
 Wenifuck
 Mattaúntum
 28] Wálick
 Weéwo, &
 Mittúmmus,⁴⁸ &
 Wullógana
 Nowééwo,
 Nummíttamus, &c.

Woman-women.
 An old man,
 Old men.
 An old man,
 Old men.
 A middle-aged-man.
 Middle-aged-men.
 A youth,
 Youths.
 An old woman,
 Old women.
 Very old and decrepit.
 An Husband.
 A Wife.

My Wife.

⁴⁴ *Squáas, squas, squáus*, El.; a female, *fæmina*. *Esboqua*, Cotton. — Eliot does not use the radical generic, *squa*, except in compound words: his *squáas* is a contraction of *squa-oáas*, female-animal. His Grammar, p. 9, gives, “*mittamwooffis*, a woman,” i. e. *mulier* and *uxor*. See below, *mittúmmus*, wife.

⁴⁵ *Chbise* is an old man, and *Kiechbise* a man that exceedeth in age.” Winflow’s Good News, in Young’s Chron. of Plymouth, 355. *Kutchbifsu* and *kechbifsu*, [he is] old; pl. *kutchifog*, *kechifog*, old men, elders, El.; formed from *kébebe*, chief, principal, with the animate affix, *-ifsu*. This word characterized old age as entitled to respect, and without associating the idea of decrepitude which

belongs to *mattaúntam* and *bômes*. See further, Heckewelder’s notes on the Delaware words for “old,” in Notes to El. Gram. (2 M. H. C. ix.) xvii.

⁴⁶ Lit., he is growing old.

⁴⁷ Montauk, *wenai*, S. Wood. A Ms. vocabulary by President Stiles gives *Wenÿgb* as the Narragansett word for “woman.” Råle has *winifawffis*, “vielle,” for the Abnaki. I have not observed any corresponding word used by Eliot.

⁴⁸ The doubled *l* in this word marks it as of another dialect, — probably, the Nipmuck. See, after, ch. xvii. p. 107. So too, “*nullóquaffo*, my ward, or pupil,” on p. 29. Both words are found again, — the former with the prefix of the first person, — in ch. xxiii.

Osh.⁴⁹

Nósh

Còsh

Cuttôfo ?

Okáfu,⁵⁰ &

Wítchwhaw

A Father.

My father.

Your father.

Have you a fathee ?

A mother.

⁴⁹ No word in Mr. Williams's vocabulary has occasioned more discussion or given more trouble to philologists, than this. Dr. Edwards, in his Observations on the Muhhekanew Language (p. 13), remarks, that "the Mohegans can say, my father, *nogb*,—thy father, *kogb*, &c., but they cannot say absolutely, *fatber*... If you were to say *ogb*, which the word would be, if stripped of all affixes, you would make a Mohegan both stare and smile." This "contradiction between two eminent writers,"—Williams and Edwards,—attracted the attention of Du Ponceau. See his Correspondence with Heckewelder, pp. 403, 411; and Pickering's note on Edwards, in 2 M. H. Coll., x. 111. It is somewhat remarkable that in all the discussion which this peculiarity of the Indian languages has elicited, no one appears to have discovered, in the etymology and primary signification of the word translated "father," the reason why it cannot be used without a pronominal prefix. Strictly considered, *Osh* (*atsh* or *ach*, as Eliot writes it), is a verb, signifying to come out of or proceed from. It was sometimes used as a preposition, in the form *wuchè* (*wutch*, *atsh*, El.), equivalent to the Latin *e* or *ex*. Consequently, it denoted filial relation, not paternity. With the pronominal affixes,—*nósh* (*nawsh*, El.), I-come-from; *cósh* (*kawsh*) thou-comest-from; *ash*-

ob, he-comes-from-him. Eliot appears to have observed this primary signification of the word, and when he had occasion to translate "father," used absolutely or without a pronoun, he sometimes employed the passive form of the verb, *wutashimau*, *be-who-is-proceeded-from*, or from whom [some one] proceeds; as in Psalms, ciii. 13; Prov. iv. 1.—For various forms of the primary verb, see, in Eliot's Bible, John viii. 23, *neen nachai wobkumaieu*, "I am from above;" *waban wtsob*, "the wind bloweth (comes from), John iii. 8; *tob wadchit*, whence he came from, Judg. xiii. 6; and comp. *tunna wutshauock*, whence come they? Key, p. 4.

⁵⁰ *ókashob*, his mother, the mother of; *nókas*, *nawkas*, my mother. El.—*Wúchbewau*, her mother. Cotton.

There is a curious relation,—which the limits of this note permit me only to suggest,—between the words for *father*, *mother*, and *earth*; *ash*, *ak-as*, and *áuke* or *obke*. From the verb mentioned in the preceding note, signifying to come out of or from, we have, under the regular forms of Indian grammar, *ash*, he comes from, i. e. is produced by, *actively*; *ak-as*, the *passive animate* producer, or agent of production; and *obke*, earth ($\gamma\gamma$), the *passive inanimate* producer: and all these are related to the radical ω ,—the verb of motion, in its most simple form.

Nókace, nitchwhaw
 Wúffefe⁵¹
 Niffesè
 Papoòs,
 Nippápoos, &
 Nummúckiefe
 Nummúckquáchucks⁵²
 Nittaûnis
 Non ânefe
 Muckquachuckquêmefe
 Squáfefe
 Weémat.

My mother.
An Vnckle.
My Vnckle.
A childe.
My childe.

My sonne.
My daughter.
A sucking child.
A little boy.
A little girle.
A brother.

They hold the band of brother-hood so deare, that when one had committed a murther and fled, they executed his brother; and [29] 'tis common for a brother to pay the debt of a brother deceased.

Neémat
 Wéticks, &
 Weésummis
 Wematítuock
 Cutchashematitin?
 Natòncs

My brother.
A sister.

They are brothers.
How many brothers have you?
My cousin.

⁵¹ "The Mohegans more carefully distinguish the natural relations of men to each other, than we do, or perhaps any other nation. They have one word to express an *elder* brother, another to express a *younger* brother . . . *Njáfè* is my uncle by my mother's side: *nucbebeque* is my uncle by the father's side." Edward's Observ., 11. Comp. Gallatin's Synopsis, 181-82. Another, and more remarkable peculiarity of most of the American languages is that women use

different words from men, to express the same degrees of relation. See Gallatin, 257, 225, 264.

⁵² *Mukki*, a child; dimin., *mukkiés*, a little child; *mukkutcbouks*, "a man-child." Eliot. Derived from a word signifying *bare*, without covering: "*muckúcki*, bare, [said of cloth] without wool." Key, p. 152. "Their male children goe starke naked and have no apron until they come to ten or twelve yeeres of age." page 110².

Kattõncks	<i>Your cousin.</i>
Watõncks ⁵³	<i>A cousin.</i>
Nullõquafo	<i>My ward or pupill.</i>
Wattonksítuock	<i>They are cousins.</i>
Kihtuckquaw ⁵⁴	<i>A virgin marriageable.</i>

Their Virgins are distinguished by a bashfull falling downe of their haire over their eyes.

Towiúwock | *Fatherlesse children.*

There are no beggars amongst them, nor fatherlesse children unprovided for.

Tackqiuwock | *Twins.*

Their *affections*, especially to their children, are very strong; so that I have knowne a *Father* take so grievously the losse of his *childe*, that hee hath cut and stob'd himselfe with *griefe* and *rage*.

This extreme *affection*, together with want of *learning*, makes ther children sawcie, bold, and undutifull.

30] I once came into a *house*, and requested some *water* to drinke; the *father* bid his sonne (of some 8. yeeres of age) to fetch some *water*: the *boy* refused, and would not stir; I told the *father*, that I would correct my *child*, if he should so disobey me, &c. Upon this the *father* took up a sticke, the *boy* another, and flew at his *father*: upon my perswasion, the poore *father* made him smart a little, threw down his sticke, and run for *water*, and the *father* confessed the benefit of *correction*, and the evill of their too indulgent *affections*.

⁵³ I. e. *kinsman*, or *kinswoman*. *Nu-tonkqs*, my kinswoman, Prov. vii. 4.— ⁵⁴ *Puella*. Compare *keegsquaw*, a virgin or maid (*virgo*), p. 138.

From their {
Relations } *Observation generall.*

In the ruins of depraved *mankinde*, are yet to be founde
Natures distinctions, and *Natures affections*.

More particular :

*The Pagans wild confesse the bonds
Of married chastitie :*
*How vild are Nicolaitans that hold
Of Wives communitie ?*

*How kindly flames of nature burne
In wild humanitie ?*
*Naturall affections who wants, is sure
Far from Christianity.*

31] *Best nature's vaine, be's blest that's made
A new and rich partaker
Of divine Nature of his God,
And blest eternall Maker.*

C H A P. V I.

Of the Family and businessse of the House.

W ^{Etu⁵⁵}
Wetuômuck
Nékick

An House.
At home.
My house.

⁵⁵ *Wétu* has the form of a verb in the indicative, which may be nearly translated by *he is at home, he houses*. *Wék* (*week*, El.) is the regularly-formed subjunctive or conditional third person singular of this verb, — *when* (or *where*) he is at home, *chez lui*. The locative affix makes *weekit* (El.) or *wékick*, at or in

his home. See Eliot's Grammar, p. 11, where the word *wigwam* is shown to be a corruption of "*weekuwout* or *wekuwomut*, in his house," — (which is, doubtless, an error of the press for "in *their* house," as the word has the plural affix;) *wetuômuck*, as Mr. Williams writes it above. Abn. "*wigwam*, cabane, maison." (Râle.)

Kékick		<i>Your house.</i>
Wk ick ⁵⁶		<i>At his house.</i>
Nickquénum.		<i>I am going home:</i>

Which is a solemn word amongst them; and no man wil offer any hinderance to him, who after some absence is going to visit his Family, and useth this word *Nicquénum* (confessing the sweetness even of these short temporall homes.)

Puttuckakàun		<i>A round house.</i>
Puttucakakâunefe		<i>A little round house.</i>
Wetuomémeſe		<i>A little house; which their women and maids live apart in, four, [32] five, or six dayes, in the time of their monethly sickness, which custome in all parts of the Countrey they strictly observe, and no Male may come into that house.</i>

Neés quttow ⁵⁷		<i>A longer house with two fires.</i>
Shwishcuttow		<i>With three fires.</i>
Abockquóſinaſh		<i>The mats of the house.</i>
Wuttapuífuck ⁵⁸		<i>The long poles, which commonly men get and fix, and then the women cover the house with mats, and line them with embroydered mats which the women make, and call them <i>Munnotaúbana</i>,⁵⁹ or <i>Hangings</i>, which amongst them make as faire a show as Hangings with us.</i>

⁵⁶ For *wékick*,—by an error of the press. See the same word, in chap. 1. (p. 3.)

⁵⁷ *Neéſe-ſqútta*, two-fire.

⁵⁸ Abn. *pkwabáñk*, “grosses écorces à cabaner:” *abafakør*, “les perches pour la cabane.” Râle.

⁵⁹ That is, *basket-work*,—from *munnote*, a basket (p. 102).—“Their houses were double matted, for as they were matted without, so were they within, with newer and fairer mats.” Mourt’s Relation, 12.

Nôte, or Yôte⁶⁰

Chickot &

Sqútta

Notáwefe & chickautáwefe

Púck

Puckíſſu

Nippúckis

Wuchickapêuck

barke which they dreſſe finely, and make a Summer-covering for their houſes.

Cuppoquíttemin.

Fire.

A little fire.

Smoke.

Smokie.

Smoke troubleth me.

Burching barke, and Cheſnut

I will divide houſe with you,

or dwell with you.

33] Two Families will live comfortably and lovingly in a little round houſe of ſome fourteen or ſixteen foot over, and ſo more and more families in proportion.

Núckquſquatch

Nuckquſquatchímin

Potouwáſiteuck

Wúdtuckqun

Wudtúckquanafh

Ponamáuta⁶¹

Pawacómwufheſh

Maumafhinnaunamaúta

Npaacómwufhem

I am cold.

Let us make a fire.

A piece of wood.

Lay on wood.

Cut ſome wood.

Let us make a good fire.

I will cut wood.

⁶⁰ For *nôte*, Eliot has *nótau* and *nóteau*; for *ſqútta*, *naſſquttag*, [from *naſſquneau*, it conſumes, deſtroys, rages; related to *naſſquttin*, a deſtructive ſtorm, a tempeſt.] Cotton gives "*chikkobit* or *nótau*, fire;" and Eliot has the verb, *chikobteau*, it burns. (as, *nótau chikobi-op*, the fire burned, Ps. 39: 3,) and this

ſeems to be compounded of *chêke*, fierce, violent, and *obteau*, a verb attributive. *Sqútta* appears to have been the generic name, and to have been commonly uſed in many of the Algonkin dialects. See Gallatin's Vocabularies; Synopſis, 332.

⁶¹ *Let us lay on wood.* See note 37, p. 19.

Afénesheſh	Fetch ſome ſmall ſticks.
Wònck, &	More.
Wónkatack ⁶²	
Wonckatáganafh nàus	Fetch ſome more.
Netafhìn & newucháſhinea,	There is no more.
Wequanántaſh ⁶³	A light fire.
Wequanántig	A Candle, or Light.
Wequanantiganafh	Candles.
Wékinan	A light fire.
Awâuo ? ⁶⁴	Who is at home ?
Mat Awawanúnno	There is no body.
Unháppo Kòſh	Is your father at home ?
34] Túckiu Sáchim	Where is the Sachim ?
Mat-apeù	He is not at home
Peyáu	He is come.
Wéche-peyàu-keémat ⁶⁵	Your brother is come with him.
Pótawaſh	Make a fire.
Potâuntaſh	Blowe the fire.
Peeyâuog	They are come
Wâme, paúſhe ⁶⁶	All-ſome.
Tawhitch mat peyáyea	Why came, or, come you not.
Meſh noónſhem peeyaùn ? ⁶⁷	I could not come.
Mocenaniſſeám	I will come by and by.

⁶² *Wónk*, again, once more, (*encore*): *onkatog*, another; *paſuk* . . *onkatog*, one . . the other, Deut. 21: 15; with prefix of third pers. ſing., *wonkatog*.—Eliot. *Onkatuk*, beſides. Cotton. *Matta wunk*, no more; *unkatak mando*, another God.—Peirſon's Cat.

⁶³ This has the form of a verb in the imperative (ſecond pers. ſing.), and the Engliſh, oppoſite, ſhould be tranſpoſed, —“Light a fire;” literally, “make

light;” from *wequai*, light. *Wekinan* (third line below,) ſignifies, it is light, or lighted,—“a light fire.”

⁶⁴ Lit. “Who is?” or “Is there any one?”

⁶⁵ “With-he-comes thy-brother.”

⁶⁶ That is, *wâme*, all; *paúſhe*, ſome,—lit., a part; more often, *half*. Eliot writes *poſſhe* and *pâſſhe*.

⁶⁷ The mark of interrogation is miſplaced. It belongs after *peyáyea*, above.

Afpeyàu, afquàm
 Yò áútant mèſh nippécam
 And then they point with the hand to the Sunne, by whose
 highth they keepe account of the day, and by the Moone
 and Stars by night, as wee doe by clocks and dialls, &c.

Wúskont peyáuog	<i>They will come.</i>
Teáqua náúntick ewò	<i>What come bee for ?</i>
Yo áppitch ewò	<i>Let him fit there.</i>
Unhappò kòſh	<i>Is your father at home ?</i>
Unnàugh	<i>He is there.</i>
Npépeyup náwwot	<i>I have long been here.</i>
35] Tawhitch peyáuyean	<i>Why doe you come ?</i>
Téaguun kunnaúntamun ?	<i>What come you for ?</i>
Awàun ewò ?	<i>Who is that ?</i>
Nowéchiúme ⁶⁸	<i>He is my ſervant.</i>
Wécum, nàus	<i>Call, fetch.</i>
Petiteaúta	<i>Let us goe in.</i>
Noonapúmmin autafhéttit	<i>There is not roome for ſo many.</i>
Taubapímmin	<i>Roome enough.</i>
Noónat	<i>Not enough.</i>
Aſquam	<i>Not yet.</i>
Náim, námitch	<i>By and by.</i>
Mòce, unuckquaquêſe	<i>Instantly.</i>
Máíſh, kitummây	<i>Iuſt, even now.</i>
Túckiu, tíyu	<i>Where.</i>
Kukkekkuttokâwmen	<i>Would you ſpeake with him ?</i>
Nùx	<i>Yea.</i>
Wuttammâuntam	<i>He is buſie.</i>
Nétop notammâuntam	<i>Friend, I am buſie.</i>
Cotammâuntam	<i>Are you buſie ?</i>

⁶⁸ Lit., He is with (accompanies) me.

Cotámmiſh	} <i>I hinder you.</i>
Cotammúmme	
Cotamme ⁶⁹	
	} <i>You trouble me.</i>

36] *Obf.* They are as full of buſineſſe, and as impatient of hinderance (in their kind) as any Merchant in *Europe*.

Nquſútam	} <i>I am removing.</i>	
Notámmehick ewò		
Maumachíuaſh		
Aúquiegs		
Tuckíiuaſh		
Wenawwétu		
Machétu		
Wenawetuónckon		
Kúphaſh		
Kuphómmin		
Yeaùſh		
		} <i>He hinders me.</i>
		} <i>Goods.</i>
	} <i>Householdſtuffe.</i>	
	} <i>Where be they?</i>	
	} <i>Rich.</i>	
	} <i>Poore.</i>	
	} <i>Wealth.</i>	
	} <i>Shut the doore.</i>	
	} <i>To ſhut the doore.</i>	
	} <i>Shut doore after you.</i>	

Obf. Commonly they never ſhut their doores, day nor night; and 'tis rare that any hurt is done.

Wunêgin	} <i>Well, or good.</i>	
Machit		
Cowaûtam ?		
Macháug		
Wunnâug ⁷⁰		
Wunnauganaſh		
Kunàm		
Kunnamâuog		
		} <i>Naught, or evill.</i>
		} <i>Do you underſtand?</i>
	} <i>No, or not.</i>	
	} <i>A Tray.</i>	
	} <i>Trayes.</i>	
	} <i>A Spoone.</i>	
	} <i>Spoons.</i>	

⁶⁹ Plural and ſingular: *you* trouble me; *thou* troubleſt me.

⁷⁰ *Wunnonk*, a diſh, or tray. Eliot and Cotton.

Obf. In ſteed of ſhelves, they have ſeverall baskets, wherein they put all their houſhold-[37] ſtuffe: they have ſome great bags or ſacks made of *Hempe*, which will hold five or ſixe buſhells.

Täckunck, *or*, }
Wéſkhunck. }

| *Their pounding Morter.*

Obf. Their women conſtantly beat all their corne with hand: they plant it, dreſſe it,⁷¹ gather it, barne it, beat it, and take as much paines as any people in the world, which labour is queſtionleſſe one cauſe of their extraordinary eaſe of childbirth.

Wunnauganémeſe
Téaqua cunnátinne
Natínnehas
Kekíneas
Machàge cunna miteôuwin?
Wónckatack⁷²
Tunnatì
Ntauhaunanatinnéhómmin.
Ntauhaunanamiteôúwin
Wíafeck
Eiaſſunck
Mocôtick
Punnêunck
Cháuqock.⁷³

| *A little Tray.*

What doe you looke for?

Search.

See here.

Doe you find nothing.

Another.

Where.

I cannot looke or ſearch.

I cannot find.

| *A Knife.*

⁷¹ "Wherein they exceede our Engliſh huſband-men," (ſays Wood,) "keeping it ſo cleare with their Clamme ſhell hoes, as if it were a garden rather than a corne-field, not ſuffering a choaking weede to advance his audacious head above their infant corne, or an under-

mining worme to ſpoile his ſpurnes." — N. E. Proſpect, pt. 2, ch. 20.

⁷² *Onkatog*, Eliot. See before, p. 33, note 62.

⁷³ *Chobquog*, Eliot; *eteauſſonk*, Cotton; Pequot, *punnêdunk*, *wiyauzzege*, Stiles Ms.; Montauk, *etcboffucke*, S. Wood.

38] *Obſ.* Whence they call *English-men* Cháuquaquock, that is, *Knife-men*, ſtone formerly being to them in ſtead of *Knives*, *Awle-blades*, *Hatchets* and *Howes*.

Namacówhe
Cówiaſeck
Wonck Commêſim ?
Mátta nowáuwone
Matta nowáhea
Mat meſhnowáhea
Pautous, Pautauog⁷⁴
Maúchatous
Niáutaſh, &
Wéawhuſh.

Lend me your Knife.

*Wil you give it me again ?
I knew nothing.*

*I was innocent.
Bring hitber.*

Carry this.

Take it on your backe.

Obſ. It is almoſt incredible what burthens the poore women carry of *Corne*, of *Fiſh*, of *Beanes*, of *Mats*, and a childe beſides.⁷⁵

Awàun
Kekíneas
Squauntáumuck
Awàun keèn ?
Keèn nétop⁷⁶
Pauquanamiinnea

There is ſome body.

Goe and ſee.

At the doore.

Who are you ?

Is it you.

Open me the doore.

⁷⁴ Imperat. ſingular and plural : *pau-taſh*, *pautauok*, El.

⁷⁵ “ In winter time they are their huſbands Caterers, trudging to the Clamm banks for their belly timber, and their Porters to lugge home their Veniſon which their lazineſſe expoſes to the Woolves till they impoſe it upon their wives ſhoulders. . . . The young Infant being greaſed and footed, wrapt in a

Beaver ſkin, bound to his good behaviour, with his feete up to his bumme, upon a board two feete long and one foot broad, his face expoſed to all nipping weather ; this little *Pappouſe* travells about with his bare footed mother to paddle in the Icie Clamm banks after three or foure dayes of age,” &c. Wood, N. E. Proſpect, pt. 2, ch. 20.

⁷⁶ Literally, “ You, my friend ?”

Obs. Most commonly, their houses are open, their doore is a hanging *Mat*, which being lift up, falls downe of it selfe; yet many of them get *English* boards and nailes, and make artificiall doores and bolts themselves, and [39] others make flighter doores of *Burch* or *Cbesnut* barke, which they make fast with a cord in the night time, or when they go out of town, and then the last (that makes fast) goes out at the Chimney, which is a large opening in the middle of their house, called :

Wunnauchicómock,⁷⁷
 Anúnema
 Neenkuttánnúmous.
 Kuttánummi ?
 Shookekéineas
 Nummouekékinéam
 Tou autèg
 Tou núckquaque
 Yo naumwâuteg
 Aquie
 Waskéche⁷⁸
 Náumatuck
 Aûqunnish
 Aukeeafeíu⁷⁹
 Keefuckqíu
 Aumàunsh
 Ausàuonsh
 Aumáunamòke. }

A Chimney.
Helpe me.
I will helpe you.
Will you helpe me ?
Behold here.
I come to see.
Know you where it lies ?
How much ?
Thus full.
Leave off, or doe not.
On the top.
In the bottome.
Let goe.
Downewards.
Vpwards.

Take away.

⁷⁷ *Wanabchikomuk*, El. (Hosea xii. 3): *Wunnachkemuk*, Cotton. From *Wanash-que* and *kómuk*, (El.) "on the top of the house."

⁷⁸ *Wofkéche* (El.) on the surface or

face; e. g. *ut wofkéche obke-it*, on the face of the earth.

⁷⁹ I. e. "Earthwards;" from *aúke*, (*obke*, El.) earth. *Obkeiyeu*, El.; *obke-ieu*, Cotton.

Nanóuwetea		<i>A Nurſe, or Keeper.</i>
Naunóuwheant		
Nanowwúnemum		<i>I looke to, or keepe.</i>

40] *Obſ.* They nurſe all their children themſelves; yet, if ſhe be an high or rich woman, ſhe maintaines a Nurſe to tend the childe.

Waucháunama		<i>Keep this for me.</i>
Cuttataſhiinnas		<i>Lay theſe up for me.</i>

Obſ. Many of them begin to be furniſhed with *Engliſh* Cheſts; others, when they goe forth of towne, bring their goods (if they live neere) to the *Engliſh* to keepe for them, and their money they hang it about their necks, or lay it under their head when they ſleepe.

Peewáun		<i>Have a care.</i>
Nnowaucháunum		<i>I will have a care.</i>
Kuttaskwhè		<i>Stay for me.</i>
Kúttáſha, &		<i>Have you this or that?</i>
Cowaucháunum?		
Pókeſha, &		<i>It is broke.</i>
Pokeſháwwa.		
Mat Coanichégane		<i>Have you no hands?</i>
Tawhitch?		<i>Why aſke you?</i>
Nóonſhem Pawtuck-		<i>I cannot reach.</i>
quámmín.		
Aquie Pokeſhátous.		<i>Doe not breake.</i>
Pokeſhátouwin.		<i>To breake.</i>
Aſsótu, &	<i>A foole.</i>	
Aſsóko.		

Obſ. They have alſo amongſt them naturall foolles, either ſo borne, or accidentally deprived of reaſon.

41] Aquie afsókiſh
 Awânick⁸⁰
 Niáutamwock
 Pauchewannâuog
 Máttapeu &
 Quſhenáwfui
 Moce ntúnna
 Cowequetúmmous
 Wunniteóuin
 Wúnniteous, or,
 Wúſiteous.
 Wúskont nochemúckqun.
 Nickúmmat
 Siúckat
 Cummequâwname ?
 Mequaunamíinnea
 Puckquatchick
 Niſſawhócunck ewò
 Kuſſawhóki ?
 Kuſſawhocowóog.
 Tawhítch kuſſawhokiéan ?
 Sáwwhuſh,
 Sawhêke
 Wuſſauhemútta
 42] Matta nickquéhick
 Machagè nickquehickômina

Be not fooliſh.

Some come.

They are loden.

*A woman keeping alone in her
 monethly ſickneſſe.*

I will tell him by and by.

I pray or intreat you.

To mend any thing.

Mend this,

Mend this.

I ſhall be chidden.

Eaſie.

Hard.

Do you remember me ?

Remember me.

Without doores.

He puts me out of doores.

Doe you put mee out of doores ?

Put them forth.

Why doe you put mee out ?

Goe forth.

Let us goe forth.

I want it not.

I want nothing.

⁸⁰ Compare, *awaun ewò* ? who is that ? (p. 4); *awâuo* ? who is at home ? (p. 33); *awâun*, there is ſome body; *awâun keèn* ? who are you ? (p. 38); and *awanagus-ântowofſh*, ſpeak Engliſh, (p. 8); *Awaun-agrſi* [for *-gus*], Engliſhman, (p. 59).—Abnaki, *Awennots*, François. (Râle).—*Awaun* (*bowan*, El.) was the interroga-

tive pronoun, correſponding to the Latin *quis*; uſed alſo as an indefinite pronoun, with the force of *aliquis* (*alius neſcio quis*), ſome unknown one. *Awaun ewò*, what ſome one is he ? Hence, applied to any foreigner, “ ſome one ” not a native, or of the ſame race with the ſpeaker. (See p. 59, poſt.)

Ob. Many of them naturally Princes, or else industrious persons, are rich; and the poore amongst them will say, they want nothing.

Páwřawásh.
 Pawřunnúmmín.
 Cuppauřumúnnařh
 Apířřumma.
 Paucóťche
 Cutsřhitteouř
 Tatágganířh
 Napónřh
 Wuchè machaùg
 Puppuckřháckhege
 Paupaquónteg⁸¹
 Mowářhuck⁸²
 Wâuki
 Saúmpi⁸³
 Aumpaníimín
 Aúmpanířh
 Pauřhinúmmín
 Pepênářh
 Nawwuttúnřh
 Pawtáwtees

Drie or ayre this.
To drie this or that.
Drie theře things.
Warne this for me.
Already.
Wářh this.
řhake this.
Lay downe.
About nothing.
A Box.
A Key.
Iron.
Crooked.
řtrait.
To undoe a knot.
Vntie this.
To diuide into two.
Take your choyce.
Throw hither.

⁸¹ Lit., that which is (habitually) used for opening; the opening-instrument.

⁸² *Mwobřbog, mowřbag*, El. Black metal, — from *mówi*, black.

⁸³ *Saúmpi* (*řampwi*, El.) is the equivalent of the Latin *řectus*, and the English *řight*: signifying, primarily, řaight, direct, and, by metonymy, řust, upright, řight in action or *řonduř*. *Ayimóck řampwi mayářb*, make-ye řaight paths, (Hebr.

xii. 13); *řampwe mayuř*, in a řraight way, (Jer. xxxi. 9); in the *řight* way, (řřalm cvii. 7.) The form of the adjective-animate is *řampweřřu*, [he is] řright, řust, upright; “an upright man.” Job, i. 1; or, as in Luke xiii. 13, “řraight,” erect. Hence, *řampweřřéaen*, a řright doer; and the causative verb, *řampweńńbeau*, he makes řust, “řustifies;” with its verbal, *řampweńńbettuonk*, being-made - řust, “řustification.” (Rom. v. 16.)

Negáutowaſh

Negauchhúwaſh

43] Nnegáuchemiſh

Nowwêta

Máuo.

*Send for him.**Send this to him.**Hee ſends to mee.**No matter.**To cry and bewaile ;*

Which bewailing is very ſolemne amongſt them morning and evening, and ſometimes in the night they bewaile their loſt husbands, wives, childreu, brethren or ſiſters, &c. Sometimes a quarter, halfe, yea, a whole yeere, and longer, if it be for a great Prince.

In this time (unleſſe a diſpenſation be given) they count it a prophane thing either to play (as they much uſe to doe) or to paint themſelves, for beauty, but for mourning ; or to be angry, and fall out with any, &c.

Machemóqu

Machemóquſſu

Wúnníckhaas

Wúnníckſhan

Néſick, & nashóqua.

Tetúpſha

Ntetúpſhem

Tou anúckquaque ?

Wunnáſhpíſhan

Tawhitch wunnáſhpíſháye

Wuttúſh

Enéick, or, áwwuſſe

Nneickomáfu, & awwaſſéſe.

44] Wuttuſhenaquáíſh

Yo anaquáye

Máuks máugoke⁸⁴*It ſtincks.**A vile or ſtinking perſon.**Mingled.**To mingle.**A Combe.**To fall downe.**I fall downe.**How big ?**To ſnatch away.**Why ſnach you ?**Hitherward, & give me.**Further.**A little further.**Looke hither.**Looke about.**Give this.*

⁸⁴ Máuks, (*magiſh*, El.) give thou : plu. máugoke, (*magók,*) give ye. Abn. *ne-még-*

ben, je donne. This verb alſo ſignifies, to ſell, i. e. to give one thing for another.

Yo comméish
 Qufsúcqun-náukon
 Kuckqússaqun
 Kunnàuki
 Nickáttash, *singular*.
 Nickáttammoke, *plur*.
 Nickattamútta.
 Yówa.
 Ntowwaukáumen.
 Awawkáwnì.
 Yo awáutees.
 Yo wéque.
 Yo meshnowékeshem
 Ayátche, &⁸⁵
 Cónkitchea.
 Ayatche nippéeam.
 Pakêtaah.
 Npaketamúnnaah.
 Wuttámmafim.⁸⁷
 Mat nowewuttámmo

I will give you this.
Heavie, light.
You are heavie.
You are light.
Leave, or depart.

Let us depart.

Thus.

*I use is.*⁸⁵

It is used.

Vse this.

Thus farre.

I went thus farre.

as { *Often.*

I am often here.

Fling it away.

I will cast him away.

Give me Tobacco.

I take none.

Obs. Which some doe not, but they are rare Birds;⁸⁸ for generally all the men throughout the Countrey have a *Tobacco-bag*, with a *pipe* in it, hanging at their back: sometimes they make such great *pipes*, both of *wood* and *stone*, 45] that they are two foot long, with men or beasts carved, so big or masie, that a man may be hurt mortally by one of

⁸⁵ So, in the first edition; for, I use it. *Auwobteau*, he uses (it), e. g. *auwobteang muttinnobkou*, they use the right hand: *auwobkon*, it is used, i. e. habitually made use of.—Eliot.

⁸⁶ *Adtahsbe, abhut tahsbe, uttache*, as many times as, as often as. El.

⁸⁷ For *wuttámmafim*. See before, note 33, p. 15.

⁸⁸ "The men take much tobacco; but for boys so to do, they account it odious." Winflow's Good Newes from N. E. Young savages are not so well trained now, as in Winflow's time.

them; but these comonly come from the *Mauquáuwogs*, or the *Men eaters*, three or foure hundred miles from us: They have an excellent Art to cast our *Pewter* and *Brasse* into very neate and artificiall *Pipes*:⁸⁹ They take their *Wuttammâuog* (that is, a weake *Tobacco*) which the men plant themselves,⁹⁰ very frequently; yet I never see any take so excessively, as I have seene men in *Europe*; and yet excesses were more tolerable in them, because they want the refreshing of *Beare* and *Wine*, which God hath vouchsafed *Europe*.

Wuttammagon.⁹¹

Hopuòck.⁹²

Chicks.

taken from the *Englisb* Chicke, because they have no Hens before the *Englisb* came.

| *A Pipe.*

| *A Pipe.*

| *A Cocke, or Hen: A name*

⁸⁹ Narragansett, says Wood, was "the store-house of all such kind of wild merchandize as is amongst [the Indians of those parts.] From hence, [other tribes] have their great stone-pipes, which wil hold a quarter of an ounce of Tobacco, which they make with steele-drills and other instruments; such is their ingenuity and dexterity, that they can imitate the English mold so accurately, that were it not for matter and colour it were hard to distinguish them; they make them of greene, & sometimes of blacke stone." N. E. Prospect, pt. 2, ch. 3.— Purchas, after describing the pipes used by the *Saquehanocks*, "three quarters of a yard long, carved at the great end with a bird, beare or other device, sufficient to beate out the braines of a horse," asks, "and how many *Asses'* braines are beaten out, or rather Mens braines smoked out and *Asses'* braines haled in, by our *lesse pipes* at home?" Pilgrimage (1613), p. 640.

⁹⁰ Probably *Nicotiana rustica*, L., "the yellow henbane of Gerard's Herbal, p. 356, well known to have been long in cultivation among the American savages, and now a naturalized relic of that cultivation in many parts of the United States." Prof. Tuckerman, in note to Josselyn's N. E. Rarities, p. 54. In his Voyages (p. 76), Josselyn says "the Indians use a small round leaved Tobacco, called by them, or the Fishermen, *Poke*." Wood translates *Pooke* by "Colts-foote." The name, which is nearly related to, if not identical with *púck* (p. 32), *pukut* (El.), smoke, was perhaps applied to more than one species of plant used as a substitute for Virginia tobacco, *Nicotiana tabacum*.

⁹¹ Literally, a *drink*-instrument. — Abn. *odamangan*, "calumet." Râle.

⁹² *Ûhpòock*, and plural *Ûhpòockast*, "pipes and tobacco;" *wuttoohpòockweonist*, tobacco.—Cotton.

Chicks ánawat.	<i>The Cocke crows.</i>	
Neefquttónckquffu.		<i>A babler, or prater.</i>
Cunneefquttonckqufsimmin.		

Obj. Which they figuratively transferre from the frequent troubleſome clamour of a Cocke.

46] Nanótateem.	<i>I keepe houſe alone.</i>	
Aquie kuttúnnan.		<i>Doe not tell.</i>
Aquie moofhkisháttous.		
Teàg yo augwháttick ?		<i>What hangs there? .</i>
Yo augwháttous.		
Pemiſquái		<i>Crooked, or winding.</i>
Penâyi.		
Nqufsútam. ⁹³		<i>I remove houſe: Which they</i>

doe upon theſe occaſions: From thick warme vallies, where they winter, they remove a little neerer to their Summer fields; when 'tis warme Spring, then they remove to their fields where they plant Corne.

In middle of Summer, becauſe of the abundance of Fleas, which the duſt of the houſe breeds, they will flie and remove on a ſudden from one part of their field to a freſh place: And ſometimes having fields a mile or two, or many miles aſunder, when the worke of one field is over, they remove houſe to the other: If death fall in amongſt them, they preſently remove to a freſh place: If an enimie approach, they remove into a Thicket, or Swampe, unleſſe they have ſome Fort to remove unto.

Sometimes they remove to a hunting houſe in the end of the yeere, and forſake it not [47] untill Snow lie thick, and then will travel home, men, women and children, thorow the ſnow, thirtie, yea, fiftie or ſixtie miles; but their great

⁹³ Abn. *nekawfi*, je le quitte; je vais cabaner ailleurs. Râle.

remove is from their Summer fields to warme and thicke woodie bottomes where they winter: They are quicke; in halfe a day, yea, ſometimes at few houres warning to be gone and the houſe up elſewhere; eſpecially, if they have ſtakes readie pitcht for their *Mats*.

I once in travell lodged at a houſe, at which in my returne I hoped to have lodged againe there the next night, but the houſe was gone in that interim, and I was glad to lodge under a tree:

The men make the poles or ſtokes, but the women make and ſet up, take downe, order, and carry the *Mats* and houſholdſtuffe.⁹⁴

Obſervation in generall.

The ſociableneſſe of the nature of man appears in the wildeſt of them, who love ſocietie; Families, cohabitation, and confociation of houſes and townes together.

48] More particular :

1 *How buſie are the ſonnes of men?
How full their beads and hands?
What noiſe and tumults in our owne,
And eke in Pagan lands?*

2 *Yet I have found leſſe noiſe, more peace
In wilde America,
Where women quickly build the houſe,
And quickly move away.*

⁹⁴ "And as it is their husbands occaſion, theſe poor tectoniſts are often troubled like ſnailes, to carrie their houſes on their backs, ſometimes to fiſhing-places, other

times to hunting-places, after that to a planting-place, where it abides the long-eſt." Wood's N. E. Proſpect, pt. 2, chap. 19.

English and Indians busie are,
 In parts of their abode :
 Yet both stand idle, till God's call
 Set them to worke for God.

Mat. 20. 7.

CHAP. VII.

Of their Persons and parts of body.

U Ppaquóntup.⁹⁵
 Nuppaquóntup.
 Wésheck.⁹⁶
 Wuchehepúnnock.

Múppacuck.

The head.
 My head.
 The bayre.
 A great bunch of bayre bound
 up behind.
 A long locke.

49] *Obs.* Yet some cut their haire round, and some as low and as short as the sober *English*; yet I never saw any so to forget nature it selfe in such excessive length and monstrous fashion, as to the shame of the *English* Nation, I now (with grieffe) see my Countrey-men in *England* are degenerated unto.⁹⁷

⁹⁵ *Ontup* (the *n* was nasal; Abn. *otep*;) appears to have been the generic name for head,—perhaps not used except in compound words. Eliot has *mnpubkuk*, a head; 3d pers., *uppubkuk*, his head.

⁹⁶ Eliot uses *wesbágan* for the beard of man, and generally, for hair on the body or limbs of man and animals; but for the hair of the head, *meefunk* or *me-yauffunk*; 3d person, *ummeefunk*.

⁹⁷ The author of "The Day-Breaking of the Gospell with the Indians," (written in 1646,) found encouragement in

the fact that, "since the word hath begun to worke upon their hearts, they have discerned the vanitie and pride which they placed in their haire, and have therefore of their owne accord . . . cut it modestly,"—notwithstanding "other Indians did revile them, and call them Rogues and such like speeches for cutting off their Locks, and for cutting their Haire in a modest manner as the New-English generally doe." (p. 25.)—3 Ms. Hist. Coll., iv. 22.

Wuttip.⁹⁸

| The braine.

Ob. In the braine their opinion is, that the soule (of which we shall speake in the Chapter of Religion) keeps her chiefe seat and residence:

For the temper of the braine in quick apprehensions and accurate judgements (to say no more) the most high and soveraign God and Creator, hath not made them inferiour to *Europeans*.

The *Mauquaûogs*,⁹⁹ or *Men-eaters*, that live two or three miles West from us, make a delicious monstrous dish of the head and brains of their enemies; which is yet no barre (when the time shall approach) against Gods call, and their repentance, and (who knowes but) a greater love to the Lord Jesus? great sinners forgiven love much.

Mscáttuck.¹⁰⁰

| The fore-head.

Wuskeéfuck-quash.¹⁰¹

Eye, or eyes.

Tiyùsh kufskeéfuck-quash?

Can you not see, or where are your eyes?

50] Wuchaûn.¹⁰²

The nostrills.

Wuttóvwog guâsh.¹⁰³

Eare, eares.

Wuttòne.¹⁰⁴

The mouth.

⁹⁸ See before, note 95. Compare with *wuttip*, the Abn. *wetp*, head, and *ontup*, El.—Cotton's vocabulary gives *waantam wuttup*, a wife brain; *metùppèash*, brains.

Peq. *skeszucks*, eyes. Stiles' Ms. Vocab. Abn. *tsifekw*, œil; *netfifekw*, mon œil; *nefsfegwèk*, ma face. Râle.

⁹⁹ See before, p. 16, note 35.

¹⁰² *Mutchan*, a nose; 3d pers. *wutchan*, El.—Abn., (3d pers.) *kítian*. Râle.

¹⁰⁰ *Muskodtuk*, El.; 3d pers., *wuskodtuk*, his forehead.—Abn. *meskâtegwé*, Râle. In this, as in a few other words in this chapter, the word is given in its *impersonal* form; that is, instead of a personal pronoun, it has the impersonal and indefinite *m*, prefixed.

¹⁰³ *Mehtauog*, an ear; pl. *-ogwasb*. El.

¹⁰¹ *Muskesuk*, "The Eye, or Face." El. Gram. 10.—Moh. *hkeesque*, eye. Edw.

Gram. 10.—Abn. *mtawakw*; 3d pers., *atawakw*. Râle.—Peq. *kuttuwannege*, [2d pers.] "ear, or what-you-hear-by." Stiles' Ms. From *wabteau*, (El.) he knows, understands, perceives; that which knows, or understands.

¹⁰⁴ *Mutton*, a mouth; 3d pers., *wutton*, El.—Abn. *adaw*. Râle.

Wéénat.¹⁰⁵Wépit-teash.¹⁰⁶

Pummaumpiteũck.

| *The tongue.*| *Tooth, teeth.*| *The tooth-ake.*

Obf. Which is the onely paine will force their stout hearts to cry; I cannot heare of any difeafe of the ftone amongft them (the corne of the Countrey, with which they are fed from the wombe, being an admirable cleaner and opener:) but the paine of their womens childbirth (of which I fhall fpeake afterward in the Chapter of *Marriage*) never forces their women fo to cry, as I have heard fome of their men in this paine.

In this paine they ufe a certaine root dried, not much unlike our *Ginger*.¹⁰⁷

Sitchipuck.

Qúttuck.

Timequáfsin.¹⁰⁸| *The necke.*| *The throat.*| *To cut off, or behead.*

which they are moft skilfull to doe in fight: for, when ever they wound, and their arrow fticks in the body of their enemie, they (if they be valourous, and pofsibly may) they follow their arrow, and falling upon the perfon wounded and tearing his head a little afide by his Locke, they in the twinckling of an eye [51] fetch off his head though but with a forry knife.

¹⁰⁵ *Meenan*; 3d pers., *wéenan*; El.—Abn. (by fubftitution of *r* for *n*) *wirarw*. Râle.—Del. *wilano*. Heckw.

¹⁰⁶ *Meepit*; 3d pers. *wéepit*. Abn. *wipit*.

¹⁰⁷ Joffelyn (N. E. Rarities, 174,) fays the powder of the root of white [green] hellebore is good for the tooth-ache: but the root here mentioned was, probably, that of the Wake-robin, or Indian turnip

(*Arum triphyllum*, L.; *Arifæma triphyllum*, Torr.)—formerly in great repute for the cure of tooth-ache.

¹⁰⁸ Abn. *net-temikoffan*, “Je lui coupe la tête.” Râle.—*Tummigquobwôu*, he beheads, cuts off the head of (Matt. xiv. 10); *tummebtbam*, he cuts (an inanimate object,—as a tree). Eliot.

I know the man yet living,¹⁰⁹ who in time of warre pretended to fall from his owne campe to the enemy, proffered his service in the front with them against his own Armie from whence he had revolted. Hee propounded such plausible advantages, that he drew them out to battell, himselfe keeping in the front; but on a sudden, shot their chiefe Leader and Captaine, and being shot, in a trice fecht off his head, and returned immediatly to his own againe, from whom in pretence (though with this trecherous intention) hee had revolted: his act was false and trecherous, yet herein appeares policie, stoutnesse and activitie, &c.

Mapànnog.

Wuppittene énañh.

Wuttàh.¹¹⁰

Wunnêtu nittà.

The breast.

Arme, Armes.

The heart.

My heart is good.

Obs. This speech they use when ever they professe their honestie; they naturally confessing that all goodnesse is first in the heart.

Mishquinash.

Mishquè, néepuck.¹¹¹

The vaines.

The blood.

¹⁰⁹ This was Sofo, or Saffawwaw, a Pequot captain, who deserted his tribe and joined their enemies the Narragansets. He afterwards lived on the tract which was claimed by both tribes,—on the east side of Pawcatuck River, now the township of Westerly. In a letter to Gov. Winthrop, written in 1637, Mr. Williams tells how “Saffawwaw, a Pequot, . . . Miantunnomues speciall darling, and a kind of Generall of his forces,” first “turned to the Nanhiggonicks, and againe pretends a returne to the Pequots,—gets them forth the last yeare against the Nanhiggonicks, and spying advantage, flue the chiefe Pequot Captain and whips

of his head, and so againe to the Nanhiggonicks.”—4 Masf. Hist. Coll., vi. 198. See Potter’s Hist. of Narraganset, (R. I. Hist. Coll. iii.) 243–48, 263: Col. Rec. of Conn., iii. 275.—“Captain Sofo” was living in 1662.

¹¹⁰ *Metab* [*m’tab*] El.; 3d pers., *wuttab*.—Moheg. *utob*, Edw.—Del. *w’dee*, Heckw.—Minsi, *uchdee*, Barton.

¹¹¹ *Musqui*, *m’squi*, (El.) red: hence, the verbal, *musquebeonk*, *m’squebeonk* (El.), a making red, redness, *blood*; 3d person *wusquebeonk*, his blood.—*Néepuck* was perhaps the Mohegan (Pequot) word. It corresponds to the Abnaki, *neba’kkan-am*, my blood; 3d pers. *ba’gakan*.

Uppufquàn.
Nuppusquánnick.
52] Wunnícheke.¹¹²
Wunnickégannafh.
Mokáffuck.

The backe.
My back, or at my back.
Hand.
Hands.
Nayles.

Ob. They are much delighted after battell to hang up the hands and heads of their enemies: (Riches, long Life, and the Lives of enemies being objects of great delight to all men naturall; but *Salomon* begg'd Wifedome before these.)

Wunnáks.
Apòme, Apòmash.
Mohcònt, tash.
Wufsète, tash.¹¹³
Wunnichéganafh.
Tou wuttínfin.
Tou núckquaque.
Wompéfu,¹¹⁴ }
Mowéfu, & }
Suckéfu. }

The bellie.
The thigh, the thighs.
A legge, legs.
A foot, feet.
The toes.
What manner of man?
Of what bignesse?
White,
Blacke, or swarfish.

Obf. Hence they call a *Blackamore* (themselves are tawnie, by the Sunne and their annoyntings, yet they are borne white:)

Suckáutacone,

| *A cole blacke man.*¹¹⁵

¹¹² Of the 3d pers.; *his hand*: *wunnutch* and *wunnutcheg*, El.—From a verb which signifies, to lay hold of, to seize; particip. plu., *neg anitcheg*, they who lay hold of, the takers-hold. In the next line, *Wunnicke*- should be *Wunniche*-.

¹¹³ Third pers., *wuffeet*, his foot. El. and Cotton. Abn. *afit*.—Literally, the *doer*, i. e. the worker: *nob asit* (Eliot), he who does or performs any thing.

¹¹⁴ *Wompi*, white; in the animate form, *wompéfu*, [he is] white. See El. Grammar, 13.

¹¹⁵ Wood (N. E. Prospect, pt. 2, ch. 8) tells of some Indians, "who seeing a Black-more in the top of a tree, looking out for his way which he had lost, surmised he was *Abamacbo* or the Devill, deeming all Devils that are blacker than themselves."

For, *Sucki* is black, and *Waûtacone*, one that weares clothes, whence *English, Dutch, French, Scotch*, they call *Wautacônâuog*, or *Coatmen*.

Cumminakefe.

Minikêfu.

53] Minioquêfu.

Cumminioquefe.

Qunnaúquffu.

Qunnauqfsítchick.

Tiaquónquffu.

Tiaquonqufsíchick.

Wunnêtu-wock.

You are strong.

Strong.

Weake.

Weake you are.

A tall man.

Tall men.

Low and short.

Men of lowe stature.

Proper and personall.

The generall Observation from the parts of the bodie.

Nature knowes no difference between *Europe* and *Americans* in blood, birth, bodies, &c. God having of one blood made all mankind, *Acts* 17. and all by nature being children of wrath, *Ephes.* 2.

More particularly :

*Boast not proud English, of thy birth & blood,
Thy brother Indian is by birth as Good.
Of one blood God made Him, and Thee & All,
As wise, as faire, as strong, as personall.*

*By nature wrath's his portiõ, thine no more
Till Grace his soule and thine in Christ restore
Make sure thy second birth, else thou shalt see,
Heaven ope to Indians wild, but sbut to thee.*

54]

CHAP. III.¹¹⁶Of *Discourse* and *Newes*.

<p>A Unchemokauhettíttea. Tocketeáunchim ? Aaunchemókaw. Cuttaunchemókous. Mautauchemokou- êan. Cummautauchemókous.</p>	<p><i>Let us discourse, or tell newes.</i> <i>What newes ?</i> <i>Tell me your newes.</i> <i>I will tell you newes.</i> <i>When I have done telling the</i> <i>newes.</i> <i>I have done my newes.</i></p>
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Obs. Their desire of, and delight in newes, is great, as the *Athenians*, and all men, more or lesse; a stranger that can relate newes in their owne language, they will stile him *Manittóo*, a God.

<p>Wutaunchêocouôog.¹¹⁷ Awaun mesh aunchemókau. Awaun mesh kuppittouwaw. Uppanáunchim. Cowawwunnâunchim. 55] Nummautanùme. Nfouwufsánneme.</p>	<p><i>I will tell it them.</i> <i>Who brought this newes ?</i> <i>Of whom did you beare it ?</i> <i>Your newes is true.</i> <i>He tells false newes.</i> <i>I have spoken enough.</i> <i>I am weary with speaking.</i></p>
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Obs. Their manner is upon any tidings to fit round double or treble or more, as their numbers be; I have seene neer a thousand in a round, where *Englisb* could not well neere halfe so many have sitten: Every man hath his pipe of their *Tobacco*, and a deepe silence they make, and atten-

¹¹⁶ For VIII.

¹¹⁷ For *wutaunchemocouôog*. A circumflex over the *e* (for which a long-vowel

mark is substituted above,) marks the omission of *m* following.

tion give to him that speaketh; and many of them will deliver themselves, either in a relation of news, or in a consultation, with very emphaticall speech and great action, commonly an houre, and sometimes two houres together.

Npenowauntawâumen.

I cannot speak your language.

Matta nippânnawem

I lie not.

Cuppânnawem.

You lie.

Mattanickoggachoušk.

I am no lying fellow.

Matntiantacómpaw.

Matntiantáfampáwwa.

I speake very true.

Achienonâumwem.

Hearken to me.

Kukkita.

I heare you.

Kukkakittoùs.

56] *Obf.* They are impatient (as all men and God himselfe is) when their speech is not attended and listened to.

Cuppíttoùs.

I understand you.

Cowâutoùs.

I understand not.

Machagenowâutam.

Wee understand not each other.

Matnowawtatémina.

Speake the truth.

Wunnâumwash.

You speake true.

Coanâumwem.

Obf. This word and the next, are words of great flattery which they use each to other, but constantly to their Princes at their speeches, for which, if they be eloquent, they esteeme them Gods, as *Herod* among the *Iewes*.

Wunnâumwaw ewò.

He speaks true.

Cuppannawâutoùs.

I doe not believe you.

Cuppannawâuti?

Doe you not believe?

Nippannawâutunck ewò.

He doth not believe me.

Michéme nippannawâutam.

I shall never believe it.

Obj. As one answered me when I had discoursed about many points of God, of the creation, of the soule, of the danger of it, and the saving of it, he assented; but when I spake of the rising againe of the body, he cryed out, I shall never believe this.

57] Pannóuwa awàun.
awaun keefitteóuwin.¹¹⁸
Tattâ, Pitch

Nni, eíu.¹¹⁹
Mat enâno, *or*, mat eâno.
Kekuttokâunta.
Kuttókash.
Tawhitch mat cuttdân ?
Téaqua ntúnnawem,
or, ntéawem ?
Wetapimmin.
Wetapwâuwwas.
Taúpowaw.¹²⁰
Enapwâuwaw,¹²¹
Eísfísfúmo.
Matta nowawwâuon,
matta nowáhea.
Pitchnowâuwon.
Wunnaumwâuonck.
Wunnaumwáyeán.

*Some body hath made
this lie.
I cannot tell, it may so come to
passè.*

*It is true.
It is not true.
Let us speake together.
Speake.
Why speake you not ?
What should I speake ?*

*To sit downe.
Sit and talke with us.
A wise speaker.
He speaks Indian.*

I know nothing of it.

I shall know the truth.

If he say true.

¹¹⁸ Literally, "he-lies somebody: somebody made [it]."

¹¹⁹ *Nnib*, it is (or, was) so; "it came to pass." El. *Ne mos nnib*, "it must needs be so," Mark xiii. 7. *Nenib*, 'that is.' Cotton. Compare *Eiu* or *nníu*, Is it

so? ch. i. p. 5.

¹²⁰ "Their wife men and old men . . whom they call *taupowaúog*, they make solemne speeches," etc. p. 120.

¹²¹ Compare "*eenántowafß*, speak Indian," p. 8, ante. See notes 3 and 23.

Obj. *Canounicus*, the old high *Sachim* of the *Nariganſet Bay* (a wife and peaceable Prince) once in a ſolemne Oration to my ſelf, in a ſolemne aſſembly,¹²² uſing this word, ſaid, I have [58] never ſuffered any wrong to be offered to the *Engliſh* ſince they landed; nor never will: he often repeated this word, *Wunnaumwáyeen, Engliſhman*; if the *Engliſhman* ſpeake true, if hee meane truly, then ſhall I goe to my grave in peace, and hope that the *Engliſh* and my poſteritie ſhall live in love and peace together. I replied, that he had no cauſe (as I hoped) to queſtion *Engliſhmans, Wunnaumwáionck*, that is, faithfulneſſe, he having had long experience of their friendlineſſe and truſtineſſe. He tooke a ſticke and broke it into ten pieces, and related ten inſtances (laying downe a ſticke to every inſtance) which gave him cauſe thus to feare and ſay; I ſatiſfied him in ſome preſently, and preſented the reſt to the Governours of the *Engliſh*, who, I hope, will be far from giving juſt cauſe to have *Barbarians* to queſtion their *Wunnaumwáionck*, or faithfulneſſe.

Tocketunnántum, }
 Tocketunáname, }
 Tocketeántam? }

What doe you thinke?

Ntunnántum,
 Nteántum.

I thinke.

Nánick nteeátum.

I thinke ſo to.

Nteatámmowonck.

That is my thought, or opinion.

Matntunnantámme

I thinke not ſo.

Matnteeantámme.

¹²² This was at a meeting of the *Nariganſett ſachems* and their council, in Auguſt, 1637,—when Mr. Williams charged them with having broken their league made with *Maſſachuſetts* in 1636. In a letter to Winthrop, giving a report of this conference, Mr. W. wrote, that

the ſachems answered “that (although they would not contend with their friends) yet they could relate many particulars, wherein the *Engliſh* had broken (ſince theſe wars) their promiſes,” &c. 3 *Maſs. Hiſt. Coll.*, i. 162, and Knowles’ *Memoir*, p. 135.

59] Nowecóntam,
Noweeteántam.
Coanáumatous.

| *I am glad.*

| *I believe you.*

Obf. This word they use just as the *Greeke* tongue doth that verbe, *πιστεύειν*: for believing or obeying, as it is often used in the new *Testament*, and they say *Coannáumatous*, I will obey you.

Yo aphéttit.

| *When they are here.*

Yo peyáhettit.

| *When they are com.*

This Ablative case absolute they much use,¹²³ and comprise much in little;

Awaunagrfs, suck.¹²⁴

| *English-man, men.*

This they call us, as much as to say, These strangers.

Waútacone-núaoq.

| *Englishman, men.*

That is, Coat-men, or clothed.

Cháuquaqock.¹²⁵

| *English-men, properly
sword-men.*

Wautacónisk.

| *An English woman.*

¹²³ What Mr. Williams calls "this ablative case absolute," Eliot makes the 3d person plural of the suppositive [sub-junctive] mood, "when the action is only supposed to be," as, "if it be, when it is, it being,—and this third sense and meaning of this mode of the verb, doth turn this mode into a *participle*, like an *adnoun*, very frequently."—Grammar, 19.

¹²⁴ See before, p. 41, note 80. The last syllable of this word, in the singular, should have been printed *-gus*, instead of *-grfs*. Comp. *Awanagus-ántowaab*, "speak English," p. 8.—When the approach of Major Mason and his soldiers was discovered by the Pequots in the fort near Mytic, the alarm was given by the cry

"*Owanux! Owanux!* which is Englishmen." Mason's Narrative. Elsewhere, the word is written *Wanux* and *Wanocks*. I. Mather's Relation, (Drake's ed.) 131, 168.

¹²⁵ See before, p. 38. Morton, in the N. E. Canaan, (b. iii. ch. 5,) queerly confounds these two names: "The Salvages of the Massachusetts . . . did call the English planters *Wotawquenange* [-*auge* ?] which in their language signifieth *stabbers* or *Cut-throats*. . . . A Southerly Indian, that understood English well . . . callinge us by the name of *Wotoquansawge*, what that doth signifie, hee said hee was not able by any demonstration to expresse."

Wautaconémefe.
 Wáske peyáeyan.
 Wáske peyáhettit,
 Wautaconáuog.
 Táwhitch peyáhettit

An English youth.
When you came first.
When English-men came
first.
Why come they hither ?

Obs. This question they oft put to me: Why come the *Englishmen* hither? and measuring others by themselves; they say, It is because [60] you want *firing*: for they, having burnt up the *wood* in one place, (wanting draughts to bring *wood* to them) they are faine to follow the *wood*; and so to remove to a fresh new place for the *woods* sake.

Matta mihtuckqunnúnno ?
 Míshùnetafh,
 Måunetafh.
 Maunáuog,
 Wuffaumemaunáuog
 Noonapúock.

Have you no trees ?
Great store.
They are too full of
people.
They have not roome one by
another.
A messenger comes.

Aumáumuwaw
 Páudsha.
 Wawwhawtowáuog.
 Wauwhaútowaw ánowat.

They hollow.
'Tis an Alarme.

Obs. If it be in time of *warre*, he that is a *Messenger* runs swiftly, and at every towne the *Messenger* comes, a fresh *Messenger* is sent: he that is the last, comming within a mile or two of the Court, or chiefe house, he *hollowes* often and they that heare answer him, untill by mutuall *hollowing* and answering hee is brought to the place of *audience*, whereby this meanes is gathered a great confluence of people to entertaine the *news*.

61] Wufſuckwhèke. | *A letter which they ſo call*
 Wufſúckwhonck. | *from Wufſuckwhómmin,*
 to paint; for, having no letters, their painting comes the
 neereſt.

Wufſúckquafh. | *Write a Letter.*
 Wúſſuckwheke, yímmi.¹²⁶ | *Make me a Letter.*

Obſ. That they have often deſired of me upon many
 occaſions; for their good and peace, and the *English* alſo, as
 it hath pleaſed God to vouchſafe opportunitie.

Quenowáuog. | *They complaine.*
 Tawhitch quenawàyeañ ? | *Why complaine you ?*
 Muccò. | *It is true you ſay.*
 Tuckawntéawem ? | *What ſhould I ſay to it ?*

The generall *Obſervation* from their
Discourſe and *Newes*

The whole race of *mankind* is generally infected with an
itching deſire of hearing *Newes*.

more particular :

- 1 Mans *reſtleſſe ſoule bath reſtleſſe eyes and eares.*
Wanders in change of ſorrows, cares and feares.
 62] *Faine would it (Bee-like) ſuck by the ears, by the eye*
Something that might his hunger ſatiſſie :
The Goſpel, or Glad tidings onely can,
Make glad the English, and the Indian.

¹²⁶ *Ayimch*, (El.) make thou for me.

C H A P. I X.

Of the time of the day.

Obj. **T**hey are punctuall in meafuring their *Day* by the *Sunne*, and their *Night* by the *Moon* and the *Starres*, and their lying much abroad in the ayre; and fo living in the open fields, occasioneth even the youngest amongft them to be very obfervant of thofe *Heavenly Lights*.

Mautáubon, Chicháuquat
wompan.¹²⁷

Aumpatáuban.

Tou wuttúttan?

Páfpíſha.¹²⁸

Nummáttaquaw.

Yáhen Páufhaquaw.

Páweſhaquaw.¹²⁹

Quttúkquaquaw¹³⁰

Panicómpaw.¹³¹

63] Nawwáuwquaw.

Yo wuttúttan.

Yáhen waiyáuw.

It is day.

It is broad day.

*How high is the Sunne? that
is, What is't a clocke?*

It is Sunne-riſe.

Fore-noone.

Allmoſt noone.

Noone.

After dinner.

After-noone.

The Sunne thus high.

Allmoſt Sun-ſet.

¹²⁷ *Mautáubon*, (*mobtompan*, El.) it is morning,—as oppoſed to evening: ſubj. *mohtompog*, [when it is] morning,—as in Gen. i. 5, 8. *Chicháuquat* (Abn. *tſé-kwát*, “il eſt jour, jour commence”) day-break. *Wompan*, [from *wompi*, white, *bright*,] it is full day-light, bright day: ſubj. *wompag*, [when it is] day-light; “brightness.” (Iſa. lix. 9.)

¹²⁸ *Páfpíſhau*, (El.) he riſes, burſts

forth, blooms (as a flower): ſubj. *paſſ-píſhont*, [when he riſes,] ſun-riſe.

¹²⁹ *Pobſbequaeu* (El.) Lit., it is half-way; from *pobſbe*, half. Abn. *paſkwé*. Râle.

¹³⁰ From *quttaëu*, he goes down, ſinks, i. e. the ſun declines: *quátukqūobquá*, afternoon. Cotton.

¹³¹ Lit., “he ſtands ſidewiſe,”—“looks aſlant.”

Wayaàwi. ¹³²	<i>The Sun is set.</i>
Wunnáuquit: ¹³³	<i>Evening.</i>
Póppakunnetch, ¹³⁴ aucháu- gotch.	<i>Darke night.</i>
Túppaco, ¹³⁵ &̄	<i>Toward night.</i>
Otematíppocat.	
Nanashowatíppocat. ¹³⁶	<i>Midnight.</i>
Chouóeatc.	<i>About Cockcrowing.</i>
Kitompanísha.	<i>Breake of day.</i>
Yò tàunt nippéean.	<i>The sun thus high, I will come.</i>

Obs. They are punctuall in their promifes of keeping time; and sometimes have charged mee with a lye for not punctually keeping time, though hindred.

Yo tàunt cuppeeyâumen	<i>Come by the Sunne thus high.</i>
Anamakéefuck. ¹³⁷	<i>This day.</i>
Saûop.	<i>To morrow.</i>
Wufsâume tátísha.	<i>It is too late.</i>
Tiaquockaskéefakat.	<i>A short day.</i>
Quawquonikéefakat.	<i>A long day.</i>
Quawquonikeefaqútcheas.	<i>Long dayes.</i>

¹³² *Wayau, wayaëu*, the sun sets; subj. *wayont*, [when he sets,] sun-set. Eliot.—From *wauonu*, subj. *wâónit*, [when] he goes out of the way, *is lost*.

¹³³ *Wunnonkou*, it is evening; (subj.) *wunnonkook*, [when it is] evening. El. (Gen. i. 5, 8, &c.)

¹³⁴ Lit., when it is very dark. See below, p. 64, *paukúnnum*, (*pobkeni, pogkeni*, El.) dark.—Delaw. *páckenum*, very dark. Heckw.

¹³⁵ *Pobkenit tipukok*, “in the dark night.” Eliot. (From *pobkeni* and *túp-paco*.)—Abn. *tanní édatí tebíkat*, quel

temps de la nuit? Râle.—Del. *tpocu*. Heckw.—Cree, *tibbikow*, it is night. Howse.—Chip. *tébekab-doobun*, (pret.) it was night. Jones, (in John xiii. 30.)—The etymology of this word is not clear, but it appears to signify the season of *darkness* (generally); between evening and morning twilight.

¹³⁶ That is, midway (*nunashauc*, El.) of the darkness. Eliot uses *nôetipubkok*, (*nôeu*, in the middle of.) Abn. *nañai-tebíkat*. Râle.

¹³⁷ See, after, (ch. xii.) p. 79, *Kéefuck*,—and note 155.

64] Nquittakeefiquóckat, } Nquittakeespúmmifhen. }		<i>One dayes walke.</i>
Paukúnum.		<i>Darke.</i>
Wequái.		<i>Light.</i>
Wequáshim. ¹³⁸		<i>Moon-light.</i>

The generall observation from their time of the day.

The *Sunne* and *Moone*, in the observation of all the *sonnes* of *men*, even the wildest are the great *Directors* of the *day* and *night*; as it pleased *God* to appoint in the first *Creation*.

More particular.

- 1 *The Indians find the Sun so sweet,
He is a God they say;
Giving them Light, and Heat, and Fruit,
And Guidance all the day.*
- 2 *They have no helpe of Clock or Watch,
And Sunne they overprize.
Having those artificiall helps, the Sun,
We unthankfully despise. (more bright
God is a Sunne and Shield, a thousand times
Indians, or English, thongh they see.
Yet how few prise his Light?*

¹³⁸ From *wequái*, with the affix (-*sh*) of derogation, or inferiority; light-*ish*.

65]

C H A P. X.

Of the season of the Yeere.

N Quittaqúnnegat.
 Neesqúnnagat.
 Shuckqunóckat.
 Yowunnóckat, &c.
 Piuckaqúnnagat.
 Piuckaqunagat nabnaquit.
 Piuckaqúnnagat nab
 neeze, &c.
 Neefneehcktafhuck
 qunnóckat.
 Neefneehcktafhuck
 qunnockat-nabnaquit, &c.
 Séquan.¹³⁹
 Aukeeteámitch.

One day.
 2 dayes.
 3 dayes.
 4 dayes.
 10 dayes.
 11 dayes.
 12 dayes.
 20 dayes.
 21 dayes.
 The Spring.
 Spring, or Seed-time.

¹³⁹ There was no division of the Indian year exactly corresponding to our somewhat arbitrary assignment of the months to four seasons of equal length. The comparison of early vocabularies shows that (besides the names given to the thirteen lunar months) six seasons, at least, were recognized, which were designated as follows:—

1. Seed-time: *aukeeteámitch*, [subj. 3d pers. from *aukeeteam* (*obketeam*, El.) he plants, or prepares the ground.]—Abn. *kikai-kizás*, sowing month, April; *nøke-kébigai-kizás*, covering month, May.

2. Early summer: *séquan* [summer,

El.; spring, R. W. and Cotton.] Abn. *síqwan*, le printemps, Râle. Cree, *sékwun*, Howse.

3. Summer: *néepun*. Abn. *nípen*. Cree, *népin*. Dela. *níppenæ*, midsummer. Holm.

4. Harvest-time: *núnnowa*, and (in the subjunctive) *anoúant*, p. 102, post: *nin-nauwæet*, fall, Cott. From *nunæu*, it [the corn] dries, grows dry.

5. Fall of the leaf; beginning of cold: *taquònc*, from *tabki* (*točkoi*, El.) it is cold. Cree, *túckwâkin*, "it is autumn," Howse. Abn. *tagwângw*.

6. Winter: *pópon*, El.—*Poponæ*, Cott. Abn. *péban*. Cree, *pépoon*.

Néepun, &
 Quaquísquan.
 Taquónck.
 Papòne.
 Saféquacup.
 66] Yo neepúnnacup.
 Yò taquónticup.
 Papapòcup.
 Yaúnedg.
 Nippaúus.¹⁴⁰
 Munnánnock.
 Nanepaúshat.
 Nqnitpawfuckenpaúus.
 Neefpaufuck npaúus.
 Shwe paufuck npaúus, &c.
 Neefneáhettit.
 Shwinneáhettit,
 Yowinneáhettit, &c.

Summer.
Fall of leafe and Autumne.
Winter.
This Spring last.
This Summer last.
This Harvest last.
Winter last.
The last yeere.
The Sunne.

The Moone.
 1 *Moneth.*
 2 *Moneths.*
 3 *Moneths.*
 2 *Moneths.*
 3 *Moneths.*
 4 *Moneths.*

Obs. They have thirteen *Moneths* according to the severall *Moones*; and they give to each of them significant names: as,¹⁴¹

Sequanakéefwush.
 Neepunnakéefwush.
 Taquontikéefwush.

Spring moneth.
Summer moneth.
Harvest moneth.

¹⁴⁰ See, after, (ch. xii.) note 157.

¹⁴¹ Râle (s. v. *Lune*) gives the Abnaki names of the months with their significations, nearly as follows:—January, *Great-cold* month; February, *Fish*-month; March, [*End-of-*] *fish*ing month; April, *Herring* month,—also, *Sowing* month; May, *Covering* month, (when corn is planted); June, *Hoeing* month; July,

Berry month,—also, *Eel* month; August, *Great-sun* (or, *Long-day*) month; September, *Acorn* month; October, *Thin-ice* month, (when the margins of the streams freeze); November, *Beaver-catching* month (when holes are made in the ice and watched for beavers); December, *Long-moon* month.

Paponakéefwush, &c.		<i>Winter moneth, &c.</i>
Nquittecautummo.		1 <i>Yeere.</i>
Tafhecautummo ?		<i>How many yeeres ?</i>
Chafhecautummo ¹⁴²		<i>How many yeeres since you</i>
cuttáppemus ?		<i>were borne ?</i>
Neefecautummo.		2 <i>Yeere.</i>
Shwecautummo.		3 <i>Yeere.</i>
67] Yowecautummo.		4 <i>Yeere.</i>
Piuckquecautummo.		10 <i>Yeere.</i>
Piuckquecautummo,		11 <i>Yeere, &c.</i>
nabnaquit, &c.		

Obf. If the yeere prove drie, they have great and solemn meetings from all parts at one high place, to supplicate their gods, and to beg raine, and they will continue in this worship ten dayes, a fortnight; yea, three weekes, untill raine come.

Tashínash papónash ?		<i>How many winters ?</i>
Aháuqushapapòne.		<i>A sharpe winter.</i>
Kéefqush keefuckquái. ¹⁴³		<i>By day.</i>
Náukocks nokannáwi.		<i>By night.</i>

*Generall Observation from their Seasons
of the Yeere.*

The *Sunne* and *Moone*, and *Starres* and *seasons* of the yeere doe preach a *God* to all the sonnes of men, that they which know no letters, doe yet read an *eternall Power* and *God-head* in these :

¹⁴² For *Chafse*- read *Tafse*-, as in the line above.

¹⁴³ *Kéefqush*, (subjunctive or condition-

al,) when it is day : *keefuckquái*, it is day, or, *this day*. So, below, *náukocks*, subj.; *nokannáwi*, indicat. pres.

More speciall.

1 *The Sun and Moone and Stars doe preach,
The Dayes and Nights found out :*
68] *Spring, Summer, Fall, and Winter eke
Each Moneth and Yeere about.*

2 *So that the wildest sonnes of men
Without excuse shall say,
Gods righteous sentence past on us,
(In dreadfull Judgement day.)*

*If so, what doome is theirs that see,
Not onely Natures light ;
But Sun of Righteousnesse, yet chose
To live in darkeſt Night ?*

CHAP. XI.

Of Travell.

Máyi.¹⁴⁴
Mayúo?
Mat mayanúnno.
Peemáyagat.
Mishimmáyagat.
Machípícat.

Away.
Is there a way?
There is no way.
A little way.
A great path.
A stone path.

Obſ. It is admirable to ſee, what paths their naked hardned feet have made in the wilderneſſe in moſt ſtony and rockie places.

¹⁴⁴ *May*, plur. *mayab*. El. Formed place], with the indefinite *m'*, prefixed; from the ſuppoſitive (ſubjunctive) of the "where any body goes." *May ne áyái*, 'the way I [may] take.' Job. 23: 10.

Nnatotemúckaun.
 Kunnatótemous.
 Kunnatotemí ?
 69] Tou nishin méyi ?
 Kokotemiinneá méyi
 Yo áinshick méyi.
 Kukkakótemous.
 Yo cummittamáyon.
 Yo chippachâusin.
 Maúchatea.
 Mauchafe.

I will aske the way.
I will inquire of you.
Doe you aske me ?
Where lies the way ?
Shew me the way.
There the way lies.
I will shew you.
There is the way you must goe.
There the way divides.
A guide.
Be my guide.

Obs. The wilderneffe being so vast, it is a mercy, that for a hire a man shall never want guides, who will carry provisions, and such as hire them over the Rivers and Brookes, and find out often times hunting-houses, or other lodgings at night.

Anóce wénawash.
 Kuttánoonsh.
 Kuttaúnckquittaunch.
 Kummuchickónckquatous.
 Tocketaonckquittíinneá.
 Cum máuchanish.
 Yò aúnta,
 Yò cuttáunan.
 Yo mtúnnock.
 Yo nmúnatch.
 70] Cowéchaufh.
 Wétásh.
 Cowéchaw ewò.
 Cowechauatimmin.
 Wechauatíttea.

Hire him.
I will hire you.
I will pay you.
I will pay you well.
What wil you give me ?
I will conduct you.
Let us goe that way.
Goe that way.
The right hand.
The left hand.
I will goe with you.
Goe along.
He will goe with you.
I will goe with you.
Let us accompany.

Taùbot wétáyea.

| *I thanke you for your company.*

Obs. I have heard of many *English* lost, and have oft been lost my selfe, and my selfe and others have often been found, and succoured by the *Indians*.

Pitchcowáwwon.

| *You will lose your way.*

Mefhnowáwwon.

| *I lost my way.*

Nummauchèmin,

| *I will be going.*

Ntanniteímmin.

Mammauchêstuck.

| *Let us be going.*

ânakiteunck.

| *He is gone.*

Memauchêwi ânittui.

| *They are gone.*

Memauchegushánnick.

| *They are gone.*

Anakugushánnick.

Tunnockuttòme

| *Whither goe you?*

Tunnockkuttoyeâim

Tunnockkuttinshem.

Nnegónshem.

| *I will goe before.*

Cuppompáish.

| *I will stay for you.*

Negónshesh.

| *Goe before.*

Mittummayaâcup.

| *The way you went before.*

71] Cummáttanish.

| *I will follow you.*

Cuppahímmin.

| *Stay for me.*

Tawhich quaunqua quèan?

| *Why doe you run so?*

Nowecóntum púmishem.

| *I have a mind to travell.*

Konkenuphshâuta.

| *Let us goe apace.*

Konkenúppe.

| *Goe apace.*

Michéme nquaunquaquêmin

| *I have run alwayes.*

Yo ntoyamâushem.

| *I goe this pace.*

Obs. They are generally quick on foot, brought up from the breasts to running: their legs being also from the wombe stretch and bound up in a strange way on their Cradle

backward, as also annointed;¹⁴⁵ yet have they some that excell: so that I have knowne many of them run betweene foure-score or an hundred miles in a Summers day, and back within two dayes: they doe also practise running of *Races*; and commonly in the Summer, they delight to goe without shoes, although they have them hanging at their backs: they are so exquisitely skilled in all the body and bowels of the Countrey (by reason of their huntings) that I have often been guided. twentieth, thirtieth, sometimes fortieth miles through the woods, a streight course, out of any path.

72] Yò wuchê.
Tounúckquaque yo wuchê
Yò anúckquaque.
Yo anuckquaquêse.
Waunaquêse.
Aukeewushaûog.
Mishoon hómwock.
Naynayoúmewot.¹⁴⁷
Wunnia, naynayoúmewot.

From hence.
How far from hence?
So farre.
So little away.
A little way.
They goe by land.
*They goe or come by water.*¹⁴⁶
A Horse.
He rides on Horse-back.

Obs. Having no Horses, they covet them above other Cattell, rather preferring ease in riding, then their profit and belly, by milk and butter from Cowes and Goats, and they are loth to come to the *English* price for any.

Afpumméwi

| *He is not gone by.*

¹⁴⁵ See note 75.

¹⁴⁶ That is, "by canoe" (*misbòon*). See, after, p. 108.

¹⁴⁷ *Nabnaiyeumòoadt*, a horse, a creature that carries. Cotton. Eliot, in his translation of the Bible, transferred the English word, *horse* (plur. *horsefòg*); but he writes *nob nawmukqut horsefòb*, he who

rides [is carried upon] a horse; *nawmukqutcbeg* and *nayeumukqutcbeg*, horsemen, riders. Amos ii. 15; 2 Sam. i. 6; Ezk. xxiii. 6. The name is regularly formed from the verb *nayeumâu*, *nawmâu* (El.), he carries upon his back (an *animate* burden); *nayeutam*, he carries (something *inanimate*).

Aspumméwock
 Awânick payánchick
 Awanick negonsháchick?
 Yo cuppummesicómmin.
 Cuppi-machàug.

*They are not gone by.
 Who come there?
 Who are these before us?
 Crosse over into the way there.
 Thick wood: a Swamp.*

Obs. These thick Woods and Swamps (like the Boggs to the *Irisb*) are the Refuges for Women and children in Warre, whil't the [73] men fight.¹⁴⁸ As the Country is wondrous full of Brookes and Rivers, so doth it also abound with fresh ponds, some of many miles compasse.

Níps-nípsash¹⁴⁹
 Wèta: wétedg
 Wuffaumpatámmin
 Wuffaum patámoonck.
 Wuttocékémin
 Tocekétuck
 Tou wuttáúqusfin?
 Yò ntaúqusfin
 Kunníish.
 Kuckqúffuckqun
 Kunnâukon
 Pafúckquish

*Pond: Ponds.
 The Woods on fire.
 To view or looke about.
 A Prospect.
 To wade.
 Let us wade.
 How deepe?
 Thus deep.
 I will carry you.
 You are heavy.
 You are light.
 Rise.*

¹⁴⁸ The Pequots had a place of refuge in "a marvellous great and secure swamp" some miles west of their fort at Mistick, "which they called *Obomowauke*, which signifies owl's nest, and by another name, *Cuppacomock* [*kuppi-komuk*], which signifies a refuge, or hiding place, as I conceive." R. W. in letter to Winthrop, 1639, 3 Mss. Hist. Coll., i. 160. Eliot writes the same word *kuppobkomuk*, and *kubpóbkomuk*; as in Deut. xvi. 21.

a small body of water; "pool," John 5: 2, 4, 7. Eliot wrote *nippisse*, *nuppisse*, and *nips*,—and usually combines the word with the generic name, *-pog*: *nippissepog*, a standing pool or lake, "standing water," Ps. 107: 35. Plural, *nuppessash*, *nippessash*; *nuppissepagwasb*. El.—Peq. *nuppessawag*, pond. (Stiles, Ms.)—Water at rest was expressed by the generic name (used only in compound words,) *-pog*, otherwise written, *-pau*, *-bau*, *-bog*, etc.—See before, p. 12, note 30.

¹⁴⁹ *Nips*, a diminutive of *Nippe*, water;

Anakish : maúchish :	<i>Goe.</i>
Quaquish	<i>Runne.</i>
Nokus káuatees	<i>Meet him.</i>
Nockuskauatéa	<i>Let us meet.</i>
Neenmeshnóckuskaw.	<i>I did meet.</i>

Obs. They are joyfull in meeting of any in travell, and will strike fire either with stones or sticks, to take Tobacco, and discourse a little together.

74] Mesh Kunnockqus	<i>Did you meet ?</i>
kauatimmin ?	<i>&c.</i>
Yo Kuttauntapimmin.	<i>Let us rest here.</i>
Kuffackquétuck.	<i>Let us sit downe.</i>
Yo appittuck	<i>Let us sit here.</i>
Nissówanis	
Nissówànishkaúmen	<i>I am weary.</i>
Nickqússaqus	<i>I am lame.</i>
Ntougonnaufinnúmmín	<i>We are distrest</i>
	<i>undone, or in misery.</i>

Obs. They use this word properly in wandring toward Winter night, in which case I have been many a night with them, and many times also alone, yet alwayes mercifully preserved.

Teáno wonck nippéeam	<i>I will be here by and by againe.</i>
Mat Kunnickansh	<i>I will not leave you.</i>
Aquie Kunnickatshash.	<i>Doe not leave me.</i>
Tavvhitch nickatshîean ?	<i>Why doe you forsake me ?</i>
Wuttánho ¹⁵⁰	<i>A staffe.</i>
Yò úsh Wuttánho	<i>Use this staffe.</i>

¹⁵⁰ *Anwobbou.* Eliot.—3d person *wut-anwobbou*, his staff. Lit., ‘that whereby

he rests himself;’ regularly formed from the verb *anwòhfn*, he rests, takes his rest.

75] *Obj.* Sometimes a man shall meet a lame man or an old man with a Staffe: but generally a Staffe is a rare fight in the hand of the eldest, their Constitution is so strong, I have upon occasion travelled many a score, yea many a hundred mile amongst them, without need of stick or staffe, for any appearance of danger amongst them: yet it is a rule amongst them, that it is not good for a man to travell without a Weapon nor alone.

Taquáttin
Auke taquáttha
Séip taquáttin.
Nowánnessin
nippittakúnnamun.

Frost.
The ground is frozen.
The River is frozen.
I have forgotten.
I must goe back.

Obj. I once travelled with neere 200 who had word of neere 700. Enemies in the way, yet generally they all resolved that it was a shame to feare and goe back.¹⁵¹

Nippanishkokómmin
Npuffago.
kommìn¹⁵²

*I have let fall
something.*

¹⁵¹ This was in September, 1638, when, at the request of Miantunnomu, Mr. Williams accompanied him and his councillors to the conference with the magistrates of Connecticut, at Hartford. Of this journey and its results, Mr. Williams gave a full report in a letter to Gov. Winthrop—printed in 3 Mafs. Hist. Coll., i. 173-77 (and in Knowles's Memoir, 157-60). On their way, the Narragansetts were "advertised . . . that about six hundred and sixty Pequots, Mohegans and their confederates . . . lay in way and wait to stop Miantunnomu's passage to Connecticut, and divers of

them threatned to boil him in a kettle." "This tidings being many ways confirmed," Mr. Williams and the Englishmen who were with him advised the Narragansetts to return: "but Miantunnomu and his council resolved . . . that not a man should turn back, resolving rather all to die."—See another reference to this journey, ch. xxix. p. 177, post.

¹⁵² This should have been printed as one word, *Npuffagokommìn*. The former of these two verbs signifies "I let fall something;" the latter, "I let fall something *into* [a pit, a ditch, or the like]: both implying mischance.

Mattaâfu	<i>A little way.</i>
Naûwot.	<i>A great way.</i>
Náwwatick	<i>Farre of at Sea.</i>
Ntaquatchuwaûmen	<i>I goe up hill.</i>
76] Taguatchòwash	<i>Goe up hill.</i>
Waumfu	<i>Downe hill.</i>
Mauúnshesh	<i>Goe slowly or gently.</i>
Mauanisháuta	<i>Let us goe gently.</i>
Tawhitch cheche	<i>Why doe you rob me ?</i>
qunnuwáyea?	
Aquie chechequnnúwash.	<i>Doe not rob me.</i>
Chechequnnuwáchick	<i>Robbers.</i>
Chechequnnittin	<i>There is a Robbery committed.</i>
Kemineantúock	<i>They murder each other.</i>

Obj. If any Robbery fall out in Travell, between Person of diverse States, the offended State sends for Justice, If no Justice bee granted and recompence made, they grant out a kind of Letter of Mart to take satisfaction themselves, yet they are carefull not to exceed in taking from others, beyond the Proportion of their owne losse.

Wúskont àwaùn	<i>I feare some will murther mee.</i>
nkemineíucqun.	

Obj. I could never heare that Murthers or Robberies are comparably so frequent, as in parts of *Europe* amongst the English, French, &c.

67] Cutchachewúsimmin.	<i>You are almost there.</i>	
Kiskecuppeeyāumen		<i>You are a little short.</i>
Cuppeeyāumen		<i>Now you are there.</i>
Muckquétu		<i>Swift.</i>
Cummúmmuckquete.		<i>You are swift.</i>
Cuffáfaqus		<i>You are slow.</i>

Saffaqufhâuog
 Cuttinneapúmíthem
 Wuttineapummufhâuta.
 Keeatshaûta.
 Ntinneapreyaûmen¹⁵³
 Acoûwe
 Ntackówwvepeyaûn.¹⁵⁴
 Cummautúflakou.
 Kihtummâyi-wuffâuhumwi.
 Pittúckísh.
 Pittuckétuck.
 Pónewhufh.

*They are slow.
 Will you paffe by?
 Let us paffe by.
 I come for no busines.*

*In vaine or to no purpose.
 I have loft my labour.
 You have miſt him.
 He went juſt now forth.
 Goe back.
 Let us goe back.
 Lay downe your burthen.*

78] *Generall Observations of their Travell.*

As the ſame Sun ſhines on the Wilderneſſe that doth on
 a Garden! ſo the ſame faithfull and all ſufficient God,
 can comfort- feede and ſafely guide even through a deſolate
 howling Wilderneſſe.

More particular.

*God makes a Path, provides a Guide,
 And feeds in Wilderneſſe!*

1 *His glorious Name while breath remaines,
 O that I may confeſſe.*

*Loſt many a time, I have had no Guide,
 2 No Houſe, but hollow Tree!
 In ſtormy VVinter night no Fire,
 No Food, no Company:*

¹⁵³ The *r* in this word is miſprinted
 for *e*; and the English phraſe which be-
 longs to it is put oppoſite *Keeatſhaûta*.

¹⁵⁴ In this word, -ówwve- ſhould be
 -ówwwe-, or -oûwe-: *nut-acóûwe-peyaûn*, I
 in-vaine come.

In him I have found a House, a Bed,
 3 A Table, Company:
 No Cup so bitter, but's made sweet,
 When Go'd shall Sweetning be.

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CHAP. XII.

Concerning the Heavens and Heavenly Lights,

Kéfuck¹⁵⁵
 Keefucquíu.¹⁵⁶
 Aúke, Aukeefeíu.
 Nippáwus.¹⁵⁷
 Keefuckquánd.¹⁵⁸

The Heavens.
Heavenward.
Downwards.
The Sun.
A name of the Sun.

(*Obf.*) By which they acknowledge the Sun, and adore for a God or divine power.

Munnánnock.
 Nanepaùhat,¹⁵⁹ & }
 Munnánnock. }
 Wequáshim.¹⁶⁰

A name of the Sun.
The Moone.
A light Moone.

¹⁵⁵ *Kefuk*, El.—Dela. *Gjfebuch*, Hkw. —Abn. *kizwos*, Râle. This word, which is related to the anim. verb *kezbeau*, 'he gives life to', makes alive, (and by which Eliot translates the verb 'creates,') signifies primarily, the Sun, as the source of light and heat; (2) the visible heavens, *cælum*; (3) the space of a day, 'one sun.' See Du Ponceau, in Notes to Eliot's Grammar, viii. The final *k* was a strong guttural, *kh*, or *χ*.

¹⁵⁶ The same word, misprinted *Keefuckqu*, on p. 39, ante, is there translated "upwards:" as *aukeafeíu* (*obkeiyeu*,

El.) signifies *earthward*, and *downwards*. *Keefuckquieu*, El.

¹⁵⁷ *Nepáuz*, El. Both Eliot and Williams use the same word for "month." See "*Neespauzfuck npáúus*, 2 months," p. 65, ante.

¹⁵⁸ From *keefuck* and *anit* (or, with the impersonal prefix, *manit*), "Sun-god." See p. 117; and p. 114², note 268.

¹⁵⁹ *Nanepauzshad*, *nanepausbadt*, and *nepauzshad*, El.—Abn. *kizwos* (sun, moon, month,) and *nibañkizwos*.

¹⁶⁰ "Light-ish." See before, note 138 (p. 64).

Pafpíſhea.¹⁶¹
Yo wuttúttan.

| The Moone is up.
| So high.

Obf And ſo they uſe the ſame rule, and words for the courſe of the Moone in the *Night*, as they uſe for the courſe of the Sun by *Day*, which wee mentioned in the Chapter of the Houre, or time of the Day concerning the Sunnes riſing, courſe, or Sunne ſetting.

86*] Yò Ockquitteunk.
Pauhéſui.
Yo wompanámmít.

| A new Moone.
| Half Moone.

Obf. The Moone ſo old, which they meaſure by the ſetting of it, eſpecially when it ſhines till *Wòmpan*, or day.

Anóckqus: anóckfuck.¹⁶² | A Starre, Starres.

Obf. By occaſion of their frequent lying in the Fields and Woods, they much obſerve the Starres, and their very children can give Names to many of them, and obſerve their Motions, and they have the ſame words for their riſing-courſes and ſetting, as for the Sun or Moone, as before.

Mosk or *Paukúnawaw* the great Beare, or *Charles Waine*, which words *Mosk* or *Paukúnawawáw* ſignifies a Beare, which is ſo much the more obſervable, becauſe, in moſt Languages that ſigne or Conſtellation is called the Beare.¹⁶³

* So, in the firſt edition; for 80.

¹⁶¹ It riſes. Comp. "paſpiſba, it is ſun-riſe," p. 62, ante, and note 128.

¹⁶² *Anogqs*, pl. *anogqsog*, El. (Grammar, 8, 9.)—*anogqs*, Cotton.

¹⁶³ "They know divers of the ſtars by name; in particular they know the north ſtar, and call it *maſke*, which is to ſay,

the bear." Edw. Winflow's Good Newes from N. E. (Young's Chron. of the Pilgrims, 366.)—Quinnip. *Awáuffuſe*, a bear; *A-waúb-sūſi*, Urſa major. Stiles, Ms.—The epithet *paukúnawaw* characterized the conſtellation, as well as the bear, as a 'night walker,'—*pobkenáiau*, "he goes when it is dark."

Shwifcuttowwáuog
 Mishánnock.¹⁶⁵
 Chippápuock.¹⁶⁶

*The Golden Meteward.*¹⁶⁴
The morning Starre.
The Brood-hen, &c.

Generall Observations of the Heauenly Bodies.

The wildest fons of Men heare the preach-[81]ing of the Heavens, the Sun, Moone, and Starres, yet not seeking after God the Maker are justly condemned, though they never have nor despise other preaching, as the civiliz'd World hath done.

More particular.

*When Sun doth rise the Starres doe set,
 Yet there's no need of Light,
 God shines a Sunne most glorious,
 When Creatures all are Night.*

*The very Indian Boyes can give,
 To many Starres their name,
 And know their Course and therein doe,
 2. Excell the English tame.*

¹⁶⁴ The three stars in the belt of Orion. Eliot, in Job xxxviii. 31, and Amos v. 8, gives *assibquttauog* as a name of the Pleiades (or "the Brood-hen," as this group was anciently designated); but Mr. Williams's application of the name is more probably correct, *shwifcuttowwáuog* signifying "three fires," or a long wigwam in which there are three fires. See before, p. 32, *neisquttow* and *shwifb-*

cuttow, "a house with two fires," and "with three fires."

¹⁶⁵ *Mishánogqus*, Eliot; *misbe-anogqs*, the great star.

¹⁶⁶ Literally, "they sit apart," or are separated from others; nearly translated by "grouped." Pres. Stiles's Ms. vocabulary gives, for the Quinipiatic, "m'nukqb-wuk, or m'nup-wuk, the seven stars."—See note 164.

3 English and Indians none enquire,
 Whose hand these Candles hold:

Iob. 35. *Who gives these Stars their Names himself*
More bright ten thousand fold.

Of the Weather.

TOcke tufinnámmín
 kééfúck?
 Wekineaúquat.
 Wekinnàquocks.
 Tahki, or tátakki.
 Tahkeès.

What thinke you of the
Weather?
Faire Weather.
When it is faire weather.
Cold weather.
Cold,

Obf. It may bee wondred why ſince *New-England* is about 12. degrees nearer to the Sun, yet ſome part of Winter it is there ordinarily more cold then here in *England*: the reaſon is plaine: All Ilands are warmer then maine Lands and Continents, *England* being an Iland, *Englands* winds are Sea winds which are commonly more thick and vapoury, and warmer winds: The *Nor-Weſt* wind (which occaſioneth *New-England* cold) comes over the cold frozen Land, and over many millions of Loads of Snow: and yet the pure whoſomneſſe of the Aire is wonderfull, and the warmth of the Sunne, ſuch in the ſharpeſt weather, that I have often ſeen the Natives Children runne about ſtarke naked in [83] the coldeſt dayes, and the *Indians* Men and Women lye by a Fire, in the Woods in the coldeſt nights, and I have been often out my ſelfe ſuch nights without fire, mercifully, and wonderfully preſerved.

Taúkocks.
 Káufitteks.
 Kuffúttah.
 Núckqusquatch nnóonakom.
 Nickqufsittâunum.
 Mattâuqus.
 Máttaquat.
 Cúppaquat.
 Sókenun.¹⁶⁷ ánaquat.¹⁶⁸
 Anamakéefuck fókenun.
 Sókenitch.
 Sóchepo, or Cône.¹⁶⁹
 Animanâukock-
 Sóchepo.
 Sóchepwutch.
 Mishúnnan.
 Pâuqui pâuquaquat.¹⁷⁰
 Nnâppi.¹⁷¹
 Nnâppaqtat.
 Tópu.
 84] Mifsittópu.
 Capât.¹⁷²
 Néechipog.

Cold weather.

Hot weather.

It is hot.

I am cold.

I sweat.

A cloud.

It is over-cast.

Raine.

It will raine to day.

When it raines.

Snow.

It will snow to night.

When it snowes.

A great raine.

It holds up.

Drie.

Drie weather.

A frost.

A great Frost.

Ice.

The Dew.

¹⁶⁷ *Sokanon*, El.; *swkēnon*, Cotton; Abn. *ſogherainn*. An imperfonal verb, ſign. primarily, "it pours out." With an anim. agent, *ſokenum*, he pours; *nuffokun*, "I cauſe it to rain," Exod. ix. 18.

¹⁶⁸ *Onnōbquat*, raining, Cott. *Onkquobquodt*, "lowering," Matt. xvi. 3.

¹⁶⁹ *Koon*, ſnow, Eliot and Cott.; but Eliot has *mubpæc keſukod*, a ſnowy day; and Cotton, *mubpæwi*, *mubpæ*, 'it ſnows.'

¹⁷⁰ *Pobquæc*, open, clear; *pobkok*, that which is clear; clear ſky (Hebr. xi. 12);

pobkobquodt, when it is clear, clear weather.—Eliot.

¹⁷¹ *Nanabpi*, *nanobpe* (Eliot), *nunnâpi* (Cott.), dry, by nature or inherently; e. g. "dry land," (Gen. i. 9, 10,) as oppoſed to water. *Nunobtæc*, dry, *become dry*,—as, *nunobtæc mebtug*, a dry tree, Is. lvi. 3. [After *Nnâppi*, in the text, for *Nnâppaqtat* read *Nnâppaquat*.]

¹⁷² *Kuppadi*, *kuppâd*, El. Literally, [when it is] denſe or cloſed up; from *kuppi*, thick, cloſed, flopped.

Míchokát.	<i>A Thaw.</i>
Míchokatch. ¹⁷³	<i>When it thawes.</i>
Missuppáugatch.	<i>When the rivers are open.</i>
Cutsháusha.	<i>The Lightning.</i>
Neimpáuog.	<i>Thunder.</i>
Neimpáuog peskhómwock.	<i>Thunderbolts are shot.</i>

Obs. From this the Natives conceiving a confimilitude between our Guns and Thunder, they call a Gunne *Péskunck*, and to discharge *Peskbommin*¹⁷⁴ that is to thunder.

Observation generall of the VVeather.

That Judgement which the Lord Jesus pronounced against the Weather-wise (but ignorant of the God of the weather) will fall most justly upon those *Natives*, and all men who are wise in Naturall things, but willingly blind in spirituall.

*English and Indians spie a Storme,
and seeke a hiding place:
O hearts of stone that thinke and dreame,
Th' everlasting stormes t'out-face.*

*Proud filthy Sodome saw the Sunne,
Shine or'e her head most bright.
The very day that turn'd she was
To stincking beaps, 'fore night.*

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¹⁷³ By an error of the press, — for *Míchokatch*.

¹⁷⁴ This word signifies, primarily, to burst in pieces, with noise. *Paskubkom* (El.), he bursts or breaks it; *paskshau*, it bursts with violence, explodes. — Abn. *ne-péskam*, I fire a gun; *awenni péskak*,

who shoots? *paskwiasow*, [the gun] bursts. *Râle*. — For 'thunder' (or the impers. verb, 'it thunders') Eliot has *padtoquobban*; which corresponds with the Moh. *pautquauban* (Edw.); Abn. *pédan-gbiagow*; Delaware, *peelbácquon* (Heckewelder.)

How many millions now alive,
 Within few yeeres shall rot ?
 O blest that Soule, whose portion is,
 That Rocke that changeth not.

CHAP. XIV.

Of the Winds.

WAûpi.¹⁷⁵
 Wâupanafh.
 Tashínafh wâupanafh

The Wind.
The Winds.
How many winds are there ?

Obs. Some of them account of seven, some eight, or nine; and in truth, they doe upon the matter reckon and observe not onely the foure but the eight Cardinall winds, although they come not to the accurate division of the 32. upon the 32. points of the compasse, as we doe.

Nanúmmatin, & Sunnâdin.
 Chepewéfsin.¹⁷⁶
 Sâchimoachepewéfsin.
 86] Nopâtin.¹⁷⁷
 Nanóckquittin.

The North wind.
The North east.
Strong North east wind.
The East wind.
The South east wind.

¹⁷⁵ *Waban* (El.); *wâpan* (Cott.).

¹⁷⁶ *Wut'hepwôiyeu*, to, from or at the east; *wutchepwôf*, the east wind; Eliot. These words, like *Chepewéfsin*, above, appear to be derived from *Cbêpie*, the bad spirit, to whom the cold north-east may have been assigned, as was the pleasant *sôwanu* (south-west) to the good *Kautântowwit*.

¹⁷⁷ Perhaps this should have been printed *Wopâtin*, or *Wôpatin*,—from *wompan*, the dawn. (See before, p. 62, and note 157.) The Mass. Psalter substitutes *wompanniyeu*, easterly, for *wutchepwôiyeu*, which Eliot had used. Comp. "*Wompanând*, the Eastern God," page 116, post.

Touwúttin.	<i>South wind.</i>
Papônetin ¹⁷⁸	<i>West wind.</i>
Chékefu ¹⁷⁹	<i>The Northwest.</i>
Chékefitch	<i>When the wind blowes</i>
	<i>Northwest.</i>
Tocketunnántum ?	<i>What thinke you ?</i>
Tou pitch wuttin ?	<i>Where wil the wind be ?</i>
Nqénouhick wuttin	<i>I stay for a wind.</i>
Yo pitch wuttin	<i>Here the wind will be to</i>
Sâuop.	<i>morrow.</i>
Pitch Sowwánishen.	<i>It will be Southwest.</i>

Obs. This is the pleasingest, warmest wind in the Climate, most desired of the *Indians*, making faire weather ordinarily; and therefore they have a *Tradition*, that to the Southwest, which they call *Sowwaníu*, the gods chiefly dwell; and hither the foules of all their Great and Good men and women goe.

This Southwest wind is called by the *New-English*, the Sea turne, which comes from the Sunne in the morning, about nine or ten of the clock Southeast, and about South, and then strongest Southwest in the after-noone, and towards night, when it dies away.

It is rightly called the Sea turne, because the wind commonly all the Summer, comes [87] off from the North and Northwest in the night, and then turnes againe about from the South in the day: as *Salomon* speaks of the vanitie of the Winds in their changes, *Eccles.* 1. 6.

Mishâupan	<i>A great wind.</i>
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¹⁷⁸ From *papône* (*pópon*, El.); winter-wind.

¹⁷⁹ From *chêké*, violent, forcible. *Chè-*

kefitch is in the future-conditional; when it shall blow, &c.

Mifhitáfhin	<i>A storme.</i>
Wunnágehan, or,	<i>Faire wind.</i>
Wunnêgin waúpi	
Wunnêgitch wuttin	<i>When the wind is faire.</i>
Mattágehan	<i>A crosse wind.</i>
Wunnágehatch	<i>When the wind comes fair.</i>
Mattágehatch	<i>When the wind is crosse.</i>
Cowunnagehúckamen.	<i>You have a faire wind.</i>
Cummattagehúckamen.	<i>The wind is against you.</i>
Nummattagehúckamen.	<i>The wind is against mee.</i>

Generall Observations of the Winds.

God is wonderfully glorious in bringing the *Winds* out of his Treasure, and riding upon the wings of those *Winds* in the eyes of all the sonnes of men in all Coasts of the world.

More particular :

88] 1 English and Indian both observe,
The various blasts of wind :
And both I have heard in dreadfull stormes
Cry out aloud, I have sinn'd.

But when the stormes are turn'd to calmes,
And seas grow smooth and still :
Both turne (like Swine) to wallow in,
The filth of former will.

'Tis not a storme on sea, or shore,
'Tis not the VVord that can ;
But 'tis the Spirit or Breath of God
That must renew the man.

C H A P. X V.

Of Fowle.

N Pesháwog
 Puffekesefuck.¹⁸⁰
 Ntauchâumen.
 Auchâûi.
 Pepemôî.
 Wómpiffacuk.¹⁸¹
 Wompsacuckquâuog
 89] Néyhom, mâuog.
 Pâupock, sùog.
 Aunckuck, quâuog.
 Chògan, êuck.

} Fowle.

I goe a fowling or hunting.
Hee is gone to hunt or fowle.
He is gone to fowle.
An Eagle.
*Eagle.*¹⁸²
Turkies.
*Partridges.*¹⁸³
*Heath-cocks.*¹⁸⁴
Black-bird, Black-birds.

¹⁸⁰ *Puppinsbaas*, bird, fowl, (*avis*), El. *Puppinsbaog*, fowls, Mafs. Pfalter. *Pfukfes*, a little bird, (Eliot Gram. 9); plur. *pfukfesog*. *Piffuksemēfog*, [very small] birds, Cott.—Abn. *spiss-ak*, oiseaux.

¹⁸¹ *Wompsfikuk*, *wompsfikuk* (Eliot); *wompskook* (Cott.); *wompsacuck* (E. Winslow). From *wompi* and *wuffukqun*, white-tail.—“The Eagles of the Countrey be of two sorts, one like the Eagles that be in England, the other is something bigger, with a great white head and white tail: these be commonly called Gripes.” Wood, N. E. Prospect, part i. chap. 8. *Gripe* was an old English name for the Erne or White-tailed Eagle (*Haliaeetus albicilla*); and was naturally transferred by English colonists to our nearly-related species, the Bald Eagle (*H. leucocephalus*, Aud.)

¹⁸² The word opposite is plural. This should be “Eagles.”

¹⁸³ *Ortyx virginiana*, Aud. The American partridge, or *Quail* of New England. *Pabpabkksbaas*, and *pobpobquffu*, partridge; in Pfal. cv. 40, *pøwpøwquttog*, quails; elsewhere, *cbøwcbøwøaog*, quails: El.—Pequot, *popoquateece*, quail; *cutquaus*, partridge; Stiles.—Montauk, *apacus*, partridge; *obocotees*, quail; S. Wood (but qu?)

¹⁸⁴ *Tetrao cupido*, Wilson; Pinnated Grouse, Prairie Hen; “formerly . . . so common on the ancient bushy site of the city of Boston, that laboring people or servants stipulated with their employers, not to have the Heath-Hen brought to table oftener than a few times in the week.” Nuttall’s Ornithol. i. 800.—“Heath-cockes and Partridges be common; he that is a husband, and will be stirring betime, may kill halfe a dozen in a morning.” N. E. Prospect, part i. chap. 8.

Obf. Of this fort there be millions, which are great devourers of the *Indian* corne as soon as it appears out of the ground; Unto this fort of Birds, especially, may the mysticall Fowles, the Divells be well resembled (and so it pleaseth the Lord Jesus himselve to observe, *Matth.* 13. which mysticall Fowle follow the sowing of the Word, and picke it up from loose and carelesse hearers, as these Black-birds follow the materiall feed.

Against the Birds the *Indians* are very carefull, both to fet their corne deep enough that it may have a strong root, not so apt to be pluckt up, (yet not too deep, lest they bury it, and it never come up:) as also they put up little watch-houses in the middle of their fields, in which they, or their biggest children lodge, and earely in the morning prevent the Birds, &c.

Kokókehom,¹⁸⁵

Ohómous.

Kaukont tuock.¹⁸⁶

| *An Owle.*

| *Crow, Crowes.*

Obf. These Birds, although they doe the corne also some hurt, yet scarce will one *Na-* [90] *tive* amongst an hundred wil kil them, because they have a tradition, that the Crow brought them at first an *Indian* Graine of Corne in one Eare, and an *Indian* or *French* Beane in another, from the Great God *Kautántouwits* field in the Southwest from whence they hold came all their Corne and Beanes.

¹⁸⁵ *Kōbkkōkhaus* and *abōmaus*; *keche* *kōbkkōkhaus*, a great owl; *weeweewes*, the screech owl, Eliot. These names all appear to be onomatopoeitic. Nuttall writes 'ko ko, ko kō ko, and 'kō-kōb, for the call of the Cat-Owl (*Stryx virgin-*

iana), and *bō, bō bō bō* for that of the little Screech Owl (*S. nēvia*, Gmelin), *Man. of Ornithol.*, i. 138.—Abn. *kō-kōkafō*, chat-huant, Râle.

¹⁸⁶ Onomatopoeitic. *Konkontu*, Eliot. *Kongkont*, Cott.—Abn. *kara 'kara 'mesōs*.

Hònck, -hónckock,¹⁸⁷
 Wómpatuck-quâuog.
 Wéquash-thâuog.¹⁸⁸
 Munnùcks -munncùckfuck.
 Quequécum -mâuog.¹⁸⁹

| *Goose, Geese.*

| *Swans, Swans.*

| *Brants, or Brantgeese.*

| *Ducks.*

Obs. The *Indians* having abundance of these sorts of Fowle upon their waters, take great pains to kill any of them with their Bow and Arrowes; and are marvellous desirous of our *English* Guns, powder and shot (though they are wisely and generally denied by the *English*) yet with those which they get from the *French*, and some others (*Dutch* and *English*) they kill abundance of Fowle, being naturally excellent marksmen; and also more hardned to endure the weather, and wading, lying, and creeping on the ground, &c.

I once saw an exercise of training of the *English*, when all the *English* had mist the mark [91] set up to shoot at, an *Indian* with his owne Peece (desiring leave to shoot) onely hit it.

Kítfuog.¹⁹⁰

| *Cormorants.*

Obs. These they take in the night time, where they are asleepe on rocks, off at Sea, and bring in at break of day great store of them:

¹⁸⁷ Peq. *Kobunk*, Stiles. The Grey or Canada Goose (*Anser Canadensis*, L.)—*Wómpatuck* (*womphótuk*, Cott.), from *wompi*, white, was doubtless the Snow Goose (*A. hyperboreus*, Bonap.)—*Dela-ware*, *wáipæck kaak*, white goose; *mæ-ræck kaak*, grey goose; Holm.

glacialis,) another name of the same character. That species is called 'bab-ba-way, by the Crees, and in Canada, *caccàwee*. Nuttall's Ornithol. ii. 455.

¹⁸⁸ So Eliot, in Levit. xi. 18.

¹⁸⁹ Onomatopoeitic,—but formed as a verb; 'they quack-quack.' Stiles gives (Peq.) 'ungowá-ums, old wives,' (*Anas*

¹⁹⁰ *Kuts, kuttis*, and *kuttubfu*, Eliot.—Joffelyn (Voyages, 102) describes the Indian manner of taking the "cormorant, shape, or sharke" [shag, by night, "upon some rock that lyes out in the sea." See, also, Wood's N. E. Prospect, pt. i. ch. 8.

Yo aquéchinock.
Nipponamouôog.

| *There they swim.*
| *I lay nets for them.*

Ob. This they doe on shore, and catch many fowle upon the plaines, and feeding under *Okes* upon *Akrons*, as Geese, Turkies, Cranes, and others, &c.

Ptowéi.
Ptowewufhánnick
Wunnùp,-pash
Wunnùppanick ánowhone
Wuhóckgock ánowhone
Wuskówhàn
Wuskowhánannûaog
Wuskowhannanaûkit

| *It is fled.*
| *They are fled:*
| *Wing, Wings:*
| *Wing-shot:*¹⁹¹
| *Body-shot:*
| *A Pigeon:*
| *Pigeons:*
| *Pigeon Countrie:*¹⁹²

Obf. In that place these Fowle breed abundantly, and by reason of their delicate Food (especially in Strawberrie time when they pick up whole large Fields of the old grounds of the *Natives*, they are a delicate fowle, and because of their abundance, and the facility [94] of killing of them, they are and may be plentifully fed on.

Sachim: a little Bird¹⁹³ about the bigneffe of a swallow,

¹⁹¹ That is, hit or wounded in the wing: *ánawbone*, wounded (p. 180, post).

¹⁹² This was in the northern part of the Nipmuck country, in what is now Worcester county, Mafs. The petty tribe which occupied it (*Wusquowbananaukits*, Roger Williams called them) were "the furthestmost Neepnet men," next neighbors to the *Wunnafshowatuckoogs*, or Showatucks. See Mr. Williams's Letters to Winthrop, in 4 Mafs. Hist. Coll., vi. 188, 193, 194, 197.

¹⁹³ Probably the King-bird (*Tyrannus intrepidus*, Vieill.), Prof. Tuckerman, in

a note to Josselyn's N. E. Rarities, p. 10, identifies the bird here described with "the little black hawk" mentioned by Wood (N. E. Prospect, pt. i. ch. 8) and Josselyn (Voyages, 95), which was so "highly prized by the Indians, who wear them on their heads," that it was "accounted of worth sufficient to ransom a Sagamour." But is it probable that two so accurate observers as Wood and Josselyn would agree in describing the king-bird as a "black hawk,"—or that a bird so common as this species, would be so highly valued?

or leffe, to which the *Indians* give that name, becaufe of its *Sachim* or Princelike courage and Command over greater Birds, that a man fhall often fee this fmall Bird purfue and vanquifh and put to flight the Crow, and other Birds farre bigger then it felfe.

Sowwánakitauwaw

—*They go to the South ward.*

That is the faying of the *Natives*, when the Geefe and other Fowle at the approach of Winter betake themfelves, in admirable Order and difcerning their Courfe even all the night long.

Chepewâukitaûog

—*They fly Northward.*

That is when they returne in the Spring. There are abundance of finging Birds whose names I have little as yet inquired after, &c.

The *Indians* of *Martins* vineyard, at my late being amongft them, report generally, and confidently of fome Ilands, which lie off from them to Sea, from whence every morning early, certaine Fowles come and light amongft them, and returne at Night to lodging, which Iland or Ilands are not yet difcovered, though probably, by other Reafons they give, there is Land, &c.

95] Taûnek-kaûog.¹⁹⁴

Wufhówunan.¹⁹⁵

| *Crane, Cranes.*

| *The Hawke.*

Which the *Indians* keep tame about their houfes to keepe the little Birds from their Corne.

¹⁹⁴ *Tannag* and *Saffadi*, Eliot. — Abn. *tarégan*, plur. -*ñk*. The name, in both dialects, was derived from the loud and piercing cry peculiar to the genus, efpecially to the *Grus americana* or Whooping Crane, — which, fays Nuttall, has been “not unaptly compared to the whoop or yell of the favages when rufh-

ing to battle.” (Manual, ii. 35.) — *Tanne ontowaonk*, a hoarfe [harfh] voice. Cotton; Abn. *tarokkwéfw*, il jappe, il hurle. Râle.

¹⁹⁵ Eliot tranflated *hawok*, by *quanunon* (Levit. xi. 16), *maf-quanon* (Job. xxxix. 26), and *owóhſhaog* (Deut. xiv. 15.).

The generall Observation of Fowle.

How sweetly doe all the severall sorts of Heavens Birds, in all Coasts of the World, preach unto Men the prayse of their Makers Wisedome, Power, and Goodnesse, who feedes them and their young ones Summer and Winter with their severall suitable sorts of Foode: although they neither sow nor reape, nor gather into Barnes?

More particularly :

*If Birds that neither sow nor reape,
Nor store up any food,
Constantly find to them and theirs
A maker kind and Good!*

*If man provide eke for his Birds,
In Yard, in Coops, in Cage.
And each Bird spends in songs and Tunes,
His little time and Age!*

92] *What care will Man, what care will God,
For's wife and Children take?
Millions of Birds and Worlds will God,
Sooner then His forsake.*

C H A P. X V I.

Of the Earth, and the Fruits thereof, &c.

Aûke,¹⁹⁶ &
Sanaukamuck.¹⁹⁷

Níttauke

Niffawnâwkamuck.

Wuskáukamuck.

Aquegunnitteash.

Mihtúck-quash.¹⁹⁸

Pauchautaqun nêsafsh.

Wunnèpog-guash.

Wattâp.

Séip.¹⁹⁹

Toyùsk.

Sepoêse.²⁰⁰

Sepoêmefse.

Takêkum.

Takekummûo ?

93] Sepûo ?

Toyosquanûo.

Earth or Land.

My Land.

New ground.

Fields worne out.

Trees.

Branch, Branches.

Leafe, leaves.

A root of Tree.

A River.

A bridge.

A little River.

A little Rivelet.

A Spring.

Is there a Spring.

Is there a River ?

Is there a Bridge.

¹⁹⁶ *Obke*, El.—Abn. *ki*.—Dela. *aki*, *akbi*. See p. 28, note 50.

¹⁹⁷ Land *enclosed* and *cultivated*; a field or garden.

¹⁹⁸ *Mehtug*, *mehtugq*, *matug*, El. The initial *m* does not belong to the root, which in compound words is found as *ubtug* or *'btug*, the generic name of *tree* or *wood*.

¹⁹⁹ *Séip*, *seep*, *sepu*, El.—Moh. *Sepoo*, Edw.—Abnaki, *Sípaw*. The root signifies 'stretched out,' 'extended' (in time or space); hence, 'a stream.' The in-

separable-generic name for 'river' or 'stream' was *tuk*, denoting water *in motion*, as *pog* or *paug* denoted water *at rest* ('lake' or 'pond'). The verb *tukkaw* was nearly equivalent to the Latin *fluatuatur*. Eliot has the plural, *tukkawog*, waves. [Abn. *tegaw*, a wave.] This generic, Hecke-welder writes for the Delaware, *bittuck*, and translates it (incorrectly) as 'a rapid stream.' Trans. Hist. & Lit. Com. Am. Phil. Soc., i. 33.

²⁰⁰ *Sepuêse*, *sepuus*, a brook, El. A diminutive, from *séip*.

Obs. The *Natives* are very exact and punctuall in the bounds of their Lands, belonging to this or that Prince or People, (even to a River, Brooke) &c. And I have knowne them make bargaine and sale amongst themselves for a small piece, or quantity of Ground: notwithstanding a finfull opinion amongst many that Christians have right to *Heathens* Lands: but of the delusion of that phrase, I have spoke in a discourse concerning the *Indians* Conversion.^{200*}

Paugáutemisk.²⁰¹

Wómpimish.

Wómpimineash.²⁰²

| An Oake.

| A Chesnut Tree.

| Chesnutts.

Obs. The *Indians* have an Art of drying their Chesnuts, and so to preserve them in their barnes for a daintie all the yeare.

Anáuchemineash.

| Akornes.

These Akornes also they drie, and in case of want of Corne, by much boyling they make a good dish of them: yea some times in plentie of Corne doe they eate these Acornes for a Novelty.

Wúsqoat.

Wúsqoatómineug.²⁰³

| A Walnut Tree.

| Walnut.

Of these Wallnuts they make an excellent [98] Oyle good for many uses, but especially for their annoynting of their heads. And of the chips of the Walnut-Tree (the barke taken off) some *Englisb* in the Countrey make excellent Beere both for Taft, strength, colour, and in offensive opening operation:

^{200*} See Preface to this edition, p. 12.

²⁰¹ *Nōtimis*, an oak, El. *Pōkkubtimis*, white oak; *wēsattimis*, red [yellow] oak. Cotton.

²⁰² *Wōmpi minneash*, white-nuts.—Abn. *wāñbimin-ar*. The generic name *min*,

(pl. *minneash*) used only in compound words, signifies a small fruit,—berry, nut, or grain.

²⁰³ *Wúsqoatómineug*, walnuts. Cott. Quinnip. *wōos-quat*, walnut tree; Peq. *wisbquats*. Stiles.

Safaunckapâmuck.
 Mishquáwtuck.²⁰⁴
 Cówaw-éfuck.²⁰⁵
 Wenomesippaguash.
 Micúckaskeete.
 Tataggoskituash.
 Maskituash.
 Wékinash-quash.
 Manisimmin.
 Qußuckomineânug.²⁰⁶
 Wuttáhimneash.²⁰⁷

The Sassafrasse Tree.
 The Cedar tree.
 Pine-young Pine.
 The Vine-Tree.
 A Meadow.
 A fresh Meadow.
 Grass or Hay.
 Reed, Reedes.
 To cut or mow.
 The Cherry Tree.
 Strawberries.

Obf. This Berry is the wonder of all the Fruits growing naturally in those parts: It is of it selfe Excellent: so that one of the chiefest Doctors of *England* was wont to say, that God could have made, but God never did make a better Berry: In some parts where the *Natives* have planted, I have many times seen as many as would fill a good ship within few miles compasse: the *Indians* bruise them in a Morter, and mixe them with meale and make Strawberry bread.

99] Wuchipoquámeneash.

A kind of sharp Fruit
 like a Barbary in tast.

*Sasèmineash*²⁰⁸ another sharp cooling Fruit growing in fresh Waters all the Winter, Excellent in conserve against Feavers.

²⁰⁴ *Mishqui* and *ubtug*, red-wood.—Abn. *meskask*, 'pin rouge.' The red cedar, *Juniperus virginiana*.

²⁰⁵ *Kw*, *kwowa*. El.—Abn. *kwé*. Diminutive, *kwawwéje*, or *kwáéje*, a small (or, young) pine. With the locative affix, *kwáés-it* (Narr. *cówawés-uck*), 'at the young pine place,' or 'small pine place.' Several localities in New England have retained, in forms more or less corrupted, this appellation.—The Indian name of the tree, like the English *pine*

(i. e. pin tree) was taken from its pointed leaves; *koús*, a thorn, briar, or 'having a sharp point.'

²⁰⁶ That is 'stone fruit'; *qußukque-min*.

²⁰⁷ *Wuttahminneob*, a strawberry. Cot.

²⁰⁸ *Sé*, sour; *safé* (very sour) *-mineash* (berries). The fruit described is probably the cranberry, *Vaccinium macrocarpum*, Ait. "They are good to allay the fervour of hot diseases." Josselyn, N. E. Rar. 66.

Wenómeneash.
 Wuttahimnasíppaguash.
 Pefhaúiuash.
 Nummouwinneem.
 Mowinne-aûog.
 Atáuntowash.
 Ntáuntawem.
 Punnoúwash.
 Npunnowaúmen.
 Attitaash.

Grapes.
Strawberry leaves.
Violet leaves.
I goe to gather.
He or they gather.
Clime the tree.
I clime.
Come downe.
I come downe.
Hurtle-berries.

Of which there are divers forts sweete like Currants, some opening, some of a binding nature.

*Säütaash*²⁰⁹ are these Currants dried by the *Natives*, and so preserved all the yeare, which they beat to powder, and mingle it with their parcht meale, and make a delicate dish which they cal *Sautáutbig*; ²¹⁰ which is as sweet to them as plum or spice cake to the *Englisb*.

They also make great use of their Strawberries having such abundance of them, making Strawberry bread, and having no other [100] Food for many dayes, but the *Englisb* have exceeded, and make good Wine both of their Grapes and Strawberries also in some places, as I have often tasted.

Ewáchim-neash.²¹¹
 Scannémeneash.²¹²

Corne.
Seed-Corne.

²⁰⁹ Râle gives *fat'ar*, "bluets frais, sans être secs;" and *sikifa'tar* for the dried berries. *Sattai-kizaw*, berry month, was the Abnaki name for July, when "les bluets sont meurs."

²¹⁰ Comp: "*Ifattonaneise*, the bread." Wood's Vocabulary.

²¹¹ "Mays, which our Indians call *ewachim*." Winflow's Good Newes from

N. E.—Eliot uses the singular, *weatchimin*, for the *plant*, or corn in the field; the plural, *weatchiminneash*, for the corn when gathered.—Pequot, *wewautchemins*, Stiles. Abn. *skamon-nar*. Del. *chafqueem*, Heckw.

²¹² *Wuskannem*, pl. *-inneash*, feed, feeds; 'seed corn' (Gen. 47: 19, 23); Eliot. Abn. *skamon-nar*.

Wompiscannémeneash. | *White seed-corne.*

Obs. There be diverse sorts of this Corne, and of the colours: yet all of it either boild in milke, or buttered, if the use of it were knowne and received in *England* (it is the opinion of some skillfull in physick) it might save many thousand lives in *England*, occasioned by the binding nature of *English* wheat, the *Indian* Corne keeping the body in a constant moderate looseness.

Aukeeteaûmen.

Quttáunemun.

Anakáusu.

Anakáusichick.

Aukeeteaûmitch.

Aukeeteáhettit.

Nummautaukeeteaûmen.

Anashómmin.

| *To plant Corne.*

| *To plant Corne.*

| *A labourer.*

| *Labourers.*

| *Planting time.*

| *When they set Corne.*

| *I have done planting.*

| *To how or break up.*

Obs. The Women set or plant, weede, and hill, and gather and barne all the corne, and [101] Fruits of the field: Yet sometimes the man himselfe, (either out of love to his Wife, or care for his Children, or being an old man) will help the Woman which (by the custome of the Countrey,) they are not bound to.

When a field is to be broken up, they have a very loving sociable speedy way to dispatch it: All the neighbours men and Women forty, fifty, a hundred &c, joyne, and come in to help freely.

With friendly joyning they breake up their fields, build their Forts, hunt the Woods, stop and kill fish in the Rivers, it being true with them as in all the World in the Affaires of Earth or Heaven: By concord little things grow great, by discord the greatest come to nothing *Concordiâ parvæ res crescunt, Discordiâ magnæ dilabuntur.*

Anáshkig-anash.

How, Howes.

Anashómwock.

They how.

Anashkhomeâteamin.

They break for me.

Anashkowáutowwin.

A breaking up How.

The *Indian Women* to this day (notwithstanding our Howes, doe use their naturall Howes of shells and Wood.

102] Monaskúnnemun.

To weede.

Monaskunnummaútowwin.

A weeding or broad How.

Petafscúnnemun.

To bill the Corne.

Kepenúmmín &

To gather Corne.

Wuttúnnemun.

Núnnowwa.²¹³*Harvest time.*

Anoúant.

*At harvest.*Wuttúnnemitch-²¹⁴*When harvest is*

Ewáchim.

in.

Paufinnúmmín.

To dry the corne.

Which they doe carefully upon heapes and Mats many dayes, before they barne it up, covering it up with Mats at night, and opening when the Sun is hot.

Sókenug.²¹⁵*A heap of corne.*

Obs. The woman of the family will commonly raise two or three heaps of twelve, fifteene, or twentie bushells a heap, which they drie in round broad heaps; and if she have helpe of her children or friends, much more.

Pockhómmin.

To beat or thrash out.

Npockhómmin.

I am thrashing.

Cuppockhómmin?

Doe you thrash?

Wuskokkamuckómeneash.

New ground Corne.

Nquitawánnanash.

One basket full.

²¹³ Literally, "it is dry;" *nunnaeu*, El. See before, p. 65, and note 139.

Anoúant, (subjunct.) "when it is dry."

²¹⁴ "When it is stored" or "taken

in." *Ne wuttinnunumun*, that which is stored; a store, Psal. 144: 13.

²¹⁵ "That which is poured out."—Comp. *sokenun*, (rain,) p. 83.

Munnôte,-tash.²¹⁶
 103] Máúseck.
 Peewâsick.
 Wuffaumepewâsick.
 Pokowânnanash.
 Neefowânnanash.
 Shóanash.
 Yowanannash.
 Anittash.²¹⁷
 Wawéekanash.
 Tawhitch quitche
 máuntamen?
 Auqúnnash.
 Necawnaúquanash.

Basket, Baskets.
 A great one.
 A little one.
 Too little.
 Halfe a basket full.
 Two baskets full.
 Three.
 Foure, &c.
 Rotten corne.
 Sweet corne.
 Why doe you smell to it?
 Barnes.
 Old barnes.

Askútasquash, their Vine aples, which the *English* from them call *Squashes*²¹⁸ about the bignesse of Apples of severall colours, a sweet, light wholesome refreshing.

²¹⁶ *Manot*, pl. *manotas*, El. *Menota*, Wood. Perhaps from *nōtin-at*, to lift or take up a burden. "These baskets be of all sizes from a quart to a quarter, in which they carry their luggage." N. E. Prospect, pt. 2, ch. 20.

²¹⁷ Subj. 3d pers. sing., *anít*, [when it is] corrupted, rotten, spoiled; inanimate plur. *anit-tash*. Curiously enough, this is the same word which, in the singular, with the indefinite particle (*m'*) prefixed, has been translated *God*.—It denotes, primarily, that which surpasse, is (*anue*) more than the common, or the normal. *Ashq*, not yet,—hence, *unripe*; *anit*, when it is more than,—hence, *rotten*.

²¹⁸ "In summer, when their corne is spent, *Squoutersquashes* is their best bread, a fruite like a young Pumpkin." Wood, N. E. Prospect, pt. 2, ch. 6. "Squashes,

but more truly *Squotersquashes*; a kind of melon, or rather gourd; for they often degenerate into gourds. . . . But the yellow squash—called an apple-squash (because like an apple), and about the bigness of a pome-water—is the best kind." Josselyn, N. E. Rar. 57. Eliot has *askwtasq*, plural *askwtasquash*, "cucumbers" (Numb. xi. 5); *quonwasq*, a gourd; *monaskwtasquash*, melons, &c.—*Ashq*, pl. *ashquash* was a generic name, signifying that which might be eaten *green* or *raw*; (*aske*, El.; *askün*, p. 14, ante;) and was applied, probably, to all the Cucurbitaceæ or melon-like fruits. [Abn. *βiê*, raw; *âskitamek wa'sawé*, "melon d'eau, i. e. qu'on ne fait pas cuire." Râle.—*Obbofketâmuk*, "water-melon, or a raw thing." Cott.] The English, adopting the plural *ashquash* as a noun in the singular, formed a new plural, *squash-es*.

Uppakumineafh.

| *The seed of them.**The Obfervation generall of the Fruits
of the Earth.*

God hath not left himfelfe without wit- in all parts and
coafts of the world; the raines and fruitfull feafons, the
Earth, Trees, Plants, &c. filling mans heart with food and
gladneffe, witneffeth againft, and condemneth man for his
unthankfulneffe and unfruitfulneffe towards his Maker.

104] More particular :

*Yeeres thousands fince, God gaue command
(as we in Scripture find)
That Earth and Trees & Plants fhould bring
Forth fruits each in his kind.*

*The Wilderneffe remembers this,
The wild and bowling land
Answers the toyling labour of,
The wildeft Indians hand.*

*But man forgets his Maker, who,
Fram'd him in Righteousneffe.
A paradise in Paradise, now worfe
Then Indian wilderneffe.*

CHAP. XVII.

Of *Beasts*, &c.

PEnathímwock.²¹⁹ | *Beasts.*
 Netasûog. | *Cattell.*

Obs. This name the *Indians* give to tame *Beasts*, yea, and *Birds* also which they keepe tame about their houses :

105] Muckquathim-wock.²²⁰ | *Wolves.*
 Moattôqus. | *A blacke Wolfe.*
 Tummòck quaûog } paûog. | *Beaver, Beavers.*
 Nóofup }
 Súmhap. }

Obs. This is a *Beast* of wonder ; for cutting and drawing of great pieces of trees with his teeth, with which, and sticks and earth I have often seen, faire streames and rivers damm'd and stopt up by them : upon these streams thus damm'd up, he builds his house with stories, wherein he sits drie in his chambers, or goes into the water at his pleasure.

Mishquáshim. | *A red Fox.*
 Péquawus. | *A gray Fox.*

²¹⁹ *Puppinašbim-wog*, a beast, beasts. El. The inseparable-generic, employed to form compound names, was *-uashbim* (*-ooashbim*, *-oshbim*, El.)

²²⁰ *Mukquosbim*, *mummugquosbim*, El. — Peq. *mucks*, Stiles. — Also, *nattobqus*, wolf, (Maf. Pfalter, John x. 12): *nattowqusûog*, wolves, Cotton. Joffelyn men-

tions two kinds of wolves, — “one with a round ball'd foot, and are in shape like mungrel mastiffs; the other with a flat foot. These are liker grey-hounds; and are called deer-wolves, because they are accustomed to prey upon deer.” N. E. Rar. 15. — Wood's vocabulary has *Ontoquos*, a wolf.

Obf. The *Indians* say they have black Foxes, which they have often seene, but never could take any of them: they say they are *Manittóoes*, that is, Gods Spirits or Divine powers, as they say of everything which they cannot comprehend.

Aûsup-pánnog.

Nkêke, nkéquoock.

Puffôugh.

Racoone, Racoones.

Otter, Otters.

The wildcat.

*Ockqutchaun-nug.*²²¹ A wild beast of a reddish haire about the bignesse of a *Pig*, and rooting like a *Pig*; from whence they give this name to all our *Swine*.

106] Mishánneke-quock.

Anéqus anéquussuck.²²²

Waûtuckques.

Squirrill, quirrils.

A little coloured Squirril.

The Conie.

Obf. They have a reverend esteeme of this Creature, and conceive there is some Deitie in it.²²³

Attuck, quock,²²⁴

Nóonatch nóonatchaug.

} *Deere.*

²²¹ The woodchuck, or ground-hog. (*Arctomys monax*, Linn.)

²²² Abn. *anikwefew*, 'suisse' (Râle). The ground or striped squirrel, or chipmunk, (*Tamias Lysteri*, Ray,) which the French called *suisse*, "parceque leur poil est rayé en longueur de rouge, de blanc et de noir, à peu près comme les Suisses de la Garde du Pape." (Charlevoix, *Nouv. France*, iii. 134.)

²²³ *Mohrukwasog*, and (Prov. xxx. 26) *ogkobjquog*, conies, El.—Abn. *mattagw, éssw*, 'lièvre.'—In one of the Indian traditions of the Deluge, the hare has the part which the scriptural narrative assigns to the dove. See Josselyn's *Voyages*, 135. Heckewelder states that the Delaware and Mohican Indians would

never eat the *rabbit* or the *ground-hog* [Del. *nocharaworsul*,] "for," said they, "they did not know but that they might be *related* to them:" and he gives a tradition, common to the Delawares, Mohicans and Iroquois, that "in the beginning, men dwelt in the earth;" that, in process of time, one of their number accidentally finding his way to the surface, brought back so favorable a description of it, that they "concluded it best for them all to come out;" but "that the *ground-hog* would not come out, but had remained in the ground as before." Hist. Account of the Ind. Nations, 242-45.

²²⁴ *Abtuk, abtukq*; plural *abtukquog*; El. *Ottuck, Wood.*

Moósquin.	<i>A fawn.</i>
Wawwúnnes.	<i>A young Bucke.</i>
Kuttiomp & Paucottâuwaw.	<i>A great Bucke.</i>
Aunàn quunêke.	<i>A Doe.</i>
Qunnequâwefe.	<i>A little young Doe.</i>
Naynayoúmewot. ²²⁵	<i>A Horſe.</i>
Côwfnuck. ²²⁶	<i>Cowes.</i>
Gôatefuck.	<i>Goats.</i>
Hôgfuck.	
Pígfuck.	<i>Swine.</i>

Obſ. This Termination *fuck*, is common in their language; and therefore they adde it²²⁷ to our *Engliſh* Cattell, not eſſe knowing what names to give them;

Anùm.²²⁸ | *A Dog.*

Yet the varietie of their Dialects and proper ſpeech within thirtie or fortie miles each of [107] other, is very great, as appears in that word,

<i>Anùm,</i>	<i>The Cowweſet</i>	} Dialect.
<i>Ayim,</i>	<i>The Narriganſet</i>	
<i>Arúm,</i>	<i>The Qunippiuck</i>	
<i>Alùm,</i>	<i>The Neepmuck</i>	

So that although ſome pronounce not *L*, nor *R*, yet it is the moſt proper Dialect of other places, contrary to many reports.²²⁹

²²⁵ See before, p. 72, note 146.

²²⁶ So, Abn. *kâws*, pl. *kâwſſok*. Eliot transfers the Engliſh word 'cow' (as in Levit. 22: 28), and for 'young cow' (Is. 7: 21) forms the diminutive, *cow-iſbinne*.

²²⁷ To form a plural. So, "Ox, *Oxeſog*, Horſe, *Horſeſog*." El. Gram. 9.

²²⁸ Signifying, "He lays hold of," or "holds faſt."

²²⁹ "Theſe conſonants (*l, n, r*), have ſuch a natural coincidence, that it is an eminent variation of their dialects. We *Maſſachuſetts* pronounce the *n*. The *Nipmuck Indians* pronounce *l*. And the *Northern Indians* pronounce *r*. As inſtance: We ſay *Anùm* (*um* produced), A Dog. *Nipmuck*, *Alùm*. Northern, *Arúm*. So in moſt words." El. Gram. 2. "An attention to theſe eſtablished

Enewáfhim.

Squáfhim.

Moòf-fóog.²³⁰

Askùg.

Móaskug.

Séfek.²³¹

Natúppwock.

Téaqua natuphéttit?

Natuphéttitch yo
fanáukamick.*A Male.**A Female.**The great Oxe, or rather a
red Deere.**A Snake.**Black Snake.**Rattle Snake.**They feed.**What shall they eat?**Let them feed on this
ground.**The generall Observation of the Beasts.*

The Wilderneffe is a cleere resemblance of the world, where greedie and furious men persecute and devour the harmlesse and innocent as the wilde beasts pursue and devour the Hinds and Roes.

108]

More particular.

1 *The Indians, Wolves, yea, Dogs and Swine,
I have knowne the Deere devoure,
Gods children are sweet prey to all;
But yet the end proves sowre.*

differences is indispenfable to a just comparison of the various dialects, and the useful application of such comparisons to the purposes of philology; and it will enable us to detect affinities, where at first view there may be little or no appearance of any resemblance," Pickering's Notes on Rasles' Dictionary, Mem. Amer. Acad. (N. S.) i. 571.

²³⁰ "The Moose-deer, which is a very goodly creature, — some of them twelve foot high." Josselyn, N. E. Rar. 19.

"There be not many of these in the *Massachusetts bay*, but forty miles to the North-east there be great store of them." Wood, N. E. Prospect, pt. 1. ch. 6. In one place (1 Kings, iv. 23) Eliot uses the plur. *masóog*, for "fallow deer." Abn. *mas*, *masók*, 'original.' (See, after, p. 112², *moófe*.)

²³¹ Eliot writes *sesékq*, for "adder" and "viper:" pl. *seséquáog*, Ps. cxl. 3. The name is onomatopoeitic. Comp. *sesékow*, "he peeped" [as a bird], Is. x. 14.

2 For though Gods children lose their lives,
They shall not lose an haire;
But shall arise, and judge all those,
That now their Iudges are.

3 New-England's wilde beasts are not fierce,
As other wild beasts are:
Some men are not so fierce, and yet
From mildnesse are they farre.

CHAP. XVIII.

Of the Sea.

W

Echêkum	}	<i>The Sea.</i>
Kítthan. ²³²		

 Paumpágusit.
The Sea-God, or, that name
 which they give that Deitie or Godhead which they conceive to be in the Sea.

Obs. *Mishòòn* an *Indian* Boat, or Canow made of a Pine or Oake, or Chesnut-tree: I have seene a Native goe into the woods with his hatchet, carrying onely a Basket of Corne 109] with him, & stones to strike fire when he had feld his tree (being a *chesnut*) he made him a little House or shed of the bark of it, he puts fire and followes the burning of it

²³² *Kehtob*, *keibtob*; with indef. affix, *kehtobban*; pl. *kehtebannaab*. El. [From *kehte* (great, chief, pre-eminent)? *kebtow*, it is great.] *Wechêkum* was perhaps a name given by the Indians of the sea-coast, to the ocean, as the great "producer" of their staple food,—fish; from *wutcbeken* (Eliot), 'it yields, produces, brings forth.' I have not found this name in the writings of Eliot or Cotton.

with fire, in the midst in many places:²³³ his corne he boyles and hath the Brook by him, and fometimes angles for a little fish: but so hee continues burning and hewing untill he hath within ten or twelve dayes (lying there at his worke alone) finished, and (getting hands,) lanced his Boate; with which afterward hee ventures out to fish in the Ocean.

Mishoonémese.

| *A little Canow.*

Some of them will not well carry above three or foure: but some of them twenty, thirty, forty men.

Wunnauanoûnuck.

| *A Shallop.*

Wunnauanounuckquêse.

| *A Skiffe.*

Obs. Although themselves have neither, yet they give them such names, which in their Language signifieth carrying Vessells.

Kitônuck.

| *A Ship.*

Kitônuckquese.

| *A little ship.*

Mishittouwand.

| *A great Canow.*

Peewâsu.

| *A little one.*

Paugautemissaûnd.

| *An Oake Canow.*

110] Kowawwaûnd.

| *A pine Canow.*

Wompmissaûnd.

| *A chefnut Canow.*

Ogwhan.

| *A boat adrift.*

Wuskon-tógwhan.

| *It will go adrift.*

Cuttunnamîinnea.

| *Help me to launch.*

Cuttunnumútta.

| *Let us launch.*

Cuttúnnamoke.

| *Launch.*

Cuttánnummous.

| *I will help you.*

²³³ " Their *Cannows* be made either of Pine-trees, which before they were acquainted with *English* tooles, they burned hollow, seraping them smooth with Clam-shels and Oyfer-shels, cutting their

out-sides with stone-hatchets: [or of] thinne Birch-rines, close-ribbed on the in-side with broad thinne hoopes," &c. Wood's New England Prospect, part 2. chap. 17.

Wútkunck.
 Namacóuhe cómishoon.
 Paûtousnenótehunck.
 Comishoónhom ?²³⁴
 Chémosh-chémeck.
 Maumínikish &
 Maumanetepweéas.
 Sepákehig.
 Sepagehommaûta.
 Wunnâgehan.

A paddle or Oare.
Lend me your Boate.
Bring hitber my paddle.
Goe you by water ?
Paddle or row.
Pull up, or row lustily.

A Sayle.
Let us saile.
We have a faire wind.

Obs. Their owne reason hath taught them, to pull of a Coat or two and fet it up on a small pole, with which they will saile before a wind ten, or twenty mile, &c.

Wáuaúpunish.
 Wuttáutnish.
 Nókánish.
 Pakétenish.
 Nikkoshkowwaúmen²³⁵
 111] Nquawu psháwmen.
 Wuffaúme peche-
 paúsha.
 Maumaneteántaff.

Hoysé up.
Pull to you.
Take it downe.
Let goe or let flie.
We shall be drown'd.
We overset.
The Sea comes in too
fast upon us.
Be of good courage.

²³⁴ Comp. "misshoon bómwock, they goe or come by water." p. 72, ante.

²³⁵ In a letter to Gov. Leverett, in 1675, Mr. Williams mentions his use of this verb, figuratively, in a conversation with a Narragansett sachem (Nananawtunu, or Canonchet,) when dissuading him from an alliance with Philip against the English: "I told him and his men (being then in my Canow with his men with him) y^t Philip was his *Caw kakin-*

namuk, y^t is Looking Glasse [see p. 157, post]: he was deafe to all Advice and now was overfet: *Coosb kouw áwi*, and catcht at euery part of y^e Countrey to saue himselfe, but he shall neuer get ashoare &c. He answered me in a consenting considering way, Phillip *Coosb cowwái*." Here the verb is in the indic. pres. 3d pers. sing.; in the text above, it is in the 1st pers. plural.—Abnaki, *nekashkañwé*, 'Je tourne en canot.'

Obj. It is wonderfull to see how they will venture in those Canoes, and how (being oft overfet as I have my selfe been with them) they will swim a mile, yea two or more safe to Land: I having been necessitated to passe waters diverse times with them, it hath pleased God to make them many times the instruments of my preservation: and when sometimes in great danger I have questioned safety, they have said to me: Feare not, if we be overfet I will carry you safe to Land.

Paupaútockquash.	<i>Hold water.</i>
Kinnequash.	<i>Steere.</i>
Tiáckomme kinniquash.	<i>Steere rigbt.</i>
Kunnósnep.	<i>A Killick, or Anchor.</i>
Chowwophómmin.	<i>To cast over-board.</i>
Chowóphash.	<i>Cast over-board.</i>
Touwopskhómme.	<i>Cast anchor.</i>
Mishittáshin.	<i>It is a storme.</i>
Awêpesha.	<i>It caulmes.</i>
Awêpu.	<i>A calme.</i>
Nanoúwashin.	<i>A great caulme.</i>
Tamócon.	<i>Floud.</i>
112] Nanashowetamócon	<i>Halfe Floud.</i>
Keesáqúshin.	<i>High water.</i>
Taumacoks.	<i>Vpon the Floud.</i>
Mishittommóckon.	<i>A great Floud.</i>
Maùchetan & skàt.	<i>Ebb.</i>
Mittâeskat.	<i>A low Ebb.</i>
Awânick Paúdhuck?	<i>Who comes there?</i>

Obj. I have knowne thirty or forty of their Canowes fill'd with men, and neere as many more of their enemies in a Sea-fight.

Caupaũshes.	Goe ashoare.
Caupauhãuta.	Let us goe ashore.
Wuſſehepoſh.	Heave out the water.
Asképuniſh.	Make faſt the Boat.
Kſpúnſh & Kſpúnemoke.	Tie it faſt.
Maumínikiſh.	Tie it hard.
NeeneCuthómwock.	Now they goe off.
Kekuthomwuſhãnnick.	They are gone already.

Generall Observations of the Sea.

How unſearchable are the depth of the Wiſedome and Power of God in ſeparating from *Europe, Aſia* and *Africa* ſuch a mightie vaſt continent as *America* is? and that for ſo
113] many ages? as alſo, by ſuch a Weſterne Ocean of about three thouſand of *Engliſh* miles breadth in paſſage over?

More particular :

*They ſee Gods wonders that are call'd
Through dreadfull Seas to paſſe,
In tearing winds and roaring ſeas,
And calmes as ſmooth as glaſſe.*

*I have in Europes ſhips, oft been
In King of terrours hand ;
When all have cri'd, Now, now we finck,
Yet God brought ſafe to land.*

*Alone 'mongſt Indians in Canoes,
Sometime o're-turn'd, I have been
Halfe inch from death, in Ocean deepe,
Gods wonders I have ſeene.*

CHAP. XIX.

Of *Fish* and *Fishing*.

N Amaùs, -suck.²³⁶

Pauganaùt, tamwock.²³⁷ | *Fish, Fishes.*
comes a little before the Spring. | *Cod*, Which is the first that

114] Qunnamáug-suck.²³⁸ | *Lampries*, The first that come

in the Spring into the fresh Rivers.

Aumsúog,²³⁹ & Munna-
whatteaùg.²⁴⁰ | *A Fish somewhat like a*

Misúckeke-kéquoock.²⁴¹ | *Bassè.* The *Indians* (and the

English too) make a daintie dish of the *Uppaquóntup*, or head of this *Fish*; and well they may, the braines and fat of it being very much, and sweet as marrow.²⁴²

²³⁶ *Namòs*, El. *Nâmâs*, Cott.—Abn. *namês*. The inseparable generic, used in compound words, was *-amaug* or *-âmâg*. [See after, page 106³, the verb *aumaûi*, he fishes; pl. *aumaûog*.] Hecke-welder observes that the names of fishes, in the Delaware language, “generally end in *mee*.” Corresp. with Duponceau, 410.

²³⁷ That is, plural, *pauganaùtamwock*, or (in Eliot’s notation) *-amaugog*.—Cotton gives *pâkonnôtam*, a haddock; *anish-âmog*, codfish.—Abn. *nâkaméw*, ‘morue;’ with which perhaps corresponds “*noic-comquoocke*, a codfish,” of Wood’s vocabulary.

²³⁸ That is, *Long-fish*.

²³⁹ *Aumsúog* (*ômmis-suog*, Cott. Peq. *umpfuauges*, Stiles. Abnaki, *aîmsû-ak*.) Alewives, *Alosa vernalis*, Mitch.

²⁴⁰ *Munnawbatteaùg*, [‘fertilizers:’ *mun-nôquobteaug* (El.), ‘they manure,’ or en-

rich the earth;] now corrupted to *Men-baden* (*Alosa menbaden*, Mitch.), known also as Bony-fish, Hard-heads, Mofs-bunkers, &c. The Indian name was also given, perhaps, to the Herring (*Clupea elongata*) and the Alewife,—both which species were used for manuring. See (Dexter’s) Mourt’s Relation, 132, and note 414. In the northern parts of New England, the Bony-fish is commonly called *Pauhagen*,—from an Abnaki word [*pakkik-kanû*, “on engraisse la terre;” whence, *pâkângan-ak*, “petits poissons;”] having nearly the same signification with the Narragansett name.

²⁴¹ The striped Bass, *Labrax lineatus*.

²⁴² “The Bassè . . . is a delicate, fine, fat, fast fish, having a bone in his head, which contains a sawcerfull of marrow sweet and good, pleasant to the pallet, and wholsome to the stomach.” Wood’s N. E. Prospeçt, pt. 1. ch. 9.

Kaúposh-shaûog.²⁴³| *Sturgeon.*

Obs. Divers part of the Countrey abound with this Fish; yet the Natives for the goodnesse and greatnesse of it, much prize it, and will neither furnish the *English* with so many, nor so cheape, that any great trade is like to be made of it, untill the *English* themselves are fit to follow the fishing.

The Natives venture one or two in a Canow, and with an harping Iron, or such like Instrument sticke this fish, and fo hale it into their Canow; sometimes they take them by their nets, which they make strong of Hemp.

Ashòp.²⁴⁴

| *Their Nets.* Which they will fet thwart some little River or Cove wherein they kil Bassè (at the fall of the water) with their arrows, or sharp sticks, especially if headed with Iron, gotten from the *English*, &c.

105²] Aucùp.

Aucppâwefè.

Wawwhunnekefûog.²⁴⁵Mishquammaúquock²⁴⁶Ofacóntuck.²⁴⁷| *A little Cove or Creeke.*| *A very little one.*| *Mackrell.*| *Red fish, Salmon.*| *A fat sweet fish, something like a Haddock.*

²⁴³ *Képposb* and *kaškòbat*, Cott. Abn. *kabassè*, plural *-sak*. "The Scale-fenc'd Sturgeon," Wood calls him (N. E. Prospect, l. c.); and the Indian appellative is nearly equivalent,—from *kuppi*, 'closed,' 'shut in,'—impenetrable to the fish-spear.

²⁴⁴ *Hasbabp*, *hasbab*, El.; *âsbâp*, (pl.) *âsbâppog*, Cott. This word is used by Eliot for "flax," "tow," "a fish net," and (Job viii. 14; Is. lix. 5) for a spider's web. (Comp. *asbâppock*, hemp, p. 164, post.) It may have been, primarily, a generic name for vegetable fibre

or fibrous material; specially appropriated to the Indian hemp (*Apocynum cannabinum*, Mich.); thence transferred to nets, lines and ropes made from that or other fibrous plants.

²⁴⁵ Plural. The name may signify *very plump* or *fat*; literally, 'very well-bodied.' *Wunnogkesu* (Eliot) he is fat; *wawwunnockôo*, it is [very] fat, p. 167, post.

²⁴⁶ *Misbqui* (*m'sqûi*), red; *-âmaug*, fish.

²⁴⁷ This species cannot be certainly identified. It may be the Pollack, the Whiting, or the Cusk.

Mishcûp-paûog.²⁴⁸
Sequanamâuquock.²⁴⁹

Breame.

Obf. Of this fish there is abundance which the Natives drie in the Sunne and smoake; and some *Englisch* begin to salt, both wayes they keepe all the yeere; and it is hoped it may be as well accepted as Cod at a Market, and better, if once knowne.

Taut-aûog.²⁵⁰
Neeshaûog
Saffammaûquock
Nquittéconnaûog.²⁵¹
Tatackommmaûog.²⁵²
Pôtop -paûog.²⁵³

Sheeps-heads.

Eeles.

Porpuses.

Whales: Which in some

²⁴⁸ This name has been variously abbreviated and corrupted, to 'scup,' 'scup-paug,' and 'porgy.' Josselyn names the *Porgee* in his list of American fish. N. E. Rarities, 30.

²⁴⁹ That is, Early-summer fish; *sequane-âmâug*.

²⁵⁰ The plural, *tautaûog* ('tautog?') has been adopted, instead of the singular, *taut*, as the popular name; and was latinized by Dr. Mitchell, with more than usual infelicity, as a specific name for the *Labrus tautoga* (L. *Americanus*, Bloch).

²⁵¹ *Nquittéconnaûog* (*nequittika*, Cott.), plur. *nquittéconnaûog*, 'they go one by one,' or *singly*. *Neeshaû* (Pequot, *neesha*, Stiles), plur. *neeshaûog*, 'they couple,' or 'go in pairs.' Comp. Abn. *nissawak*, 'ils sont mariés' (Râle). In the former name we have a trace of the belief once universal—as old at least as the days of Aristotle, and which not even Sir Tomas Browne ventured to reject as a 'vulgar error'—that the eel was without distinction of sex. The name of '*neeshaûog*

eel' is still retained for a species or variety which is occasionally taken in the salt ponds of Martha's Vineyard, and which Dr. Storer supposed to be the Silver Eel (*Muraena argentea*, Le Sueur). Rep. on Fishes of Mass., p. 158. I cannot say whether or not any peculiarity in the habits of this species distinguishes it from the common 'single going' eel: but the *Lampreys* (*Petromyzon Americanus*, Le Sueur,) might with striking appropriateness be named '*neeshaûog*,' for they usually go in pairs, aid each other in constructing their breeding places, and give frequent evidences of mutual attachment. See Storer's Report, p. 196.

²⁵² From *tattagkom* (Éliot), 'he keeps striking,' or beats [the water.]—The *bird* in was doubtless inserted by a mistake of the printer.

²⁵³ *Pwatâop*, *pwatab*, *pôtâb*, El.; *pwatab-aog* (pl.) Cott.—Abn. *pwâdêbê*.—From *pwatau*, 'he blows.'—"Anno Dom. 1668, the 17 of July, there was one of them thrown up on the shore between *Winter-harbour*

places are often cast up; I have seene some of them, but not above fixtie foot long: The *Natives* cut them out in severall parcells, and give and send farre and neere for an acceptable present, or dish.

Miseêfu.

Poquêfu.

Waskêke.

106⁷] Wufúckqun.

Aumaüog.

Ntaümen.

Kuttaümen?

Nnattuckqunnüwem.

Aumáchick,

Natuckqunnuwáchick.

Aumaüi.

Awácenick kukkattineanaümen?

Ashaünt-teaüg.

Opponenaühock.

Sickiífuoq.²⁵⁵

The whole.

The halfe.

The whalebone.

A taile.

They are fishing.

I am fishing.

Doe you fish?

I goe afishing.

} *Fishes.*²⁵⁴

He is gone to fish.

What doe you fish for?

Lobsters.

Oysters.

Clams.

Obs. This is a sweet kind of shellfish, which all *Indians* generally over the Countrey, Winter and Summer delight in; and at low water the women dig for them: this fish, and the

and *Cape-porpus* . . . that was five and fifty foot long." Josselyn, *Voyages*, p. 104.

²⁵⁴ A misprint, for *Fishes*. *Aumaüi* (*ômaeu*, El.) he fishes, "he is gone to fish:" [Abn. *aüme*, he fishes:] participial, plur. *aumáchick* (*neg omácheg*, El.) they who fish, fishers. So, *nattôbquinnuaënin*, a fisherman, Cott.—Comp. *nôtamogguonk*, a draught of fish, El. (Luke v. 9.)

²⁵⁵ *Sükkifüog*, Cott. Peq. *Suchsawaug*, Stiles. The species described is the *Mya arenaria*, or Long Clam; the name being derived from *subq* (El.) spittle; *sôbqiffu*, he spits or squirts. "When the tide ebs and flowes, a man running over these Clamm banks will presently be made all wet, by their spouting of water out of those small holes." Wood, N. E. Prospect, pt. 1, ch. 9.

naturall liquor of it, they boile, and it makes their broth and their *Nasaūmp* (which is a kind of thickned broth) and their bread seafonable and savory, in stead of Salt: and for that the *Englisch* Swine dig and root these Clams wheresoever they come, and watch the low water (as the *Indian* women do) therefore of all the *Englisch* Cattell, the Swine (as also because of their filthy disposition) are [107^r] most hatefull to all Natives, and they call them filthy cut throats, &c.

Séqunnock.²⁵⁶
Poquaūhock.²⁵⁷

| *A Horse-fish.*

Obs. This the English call Hens, a little thick shel-fish, which the Indians wade deepe and dive for, and after they have eaten the meat there (in those which are good) they breake out of the shell, about halfe an inch of a blacke part of it, of which they make their *Suckaūhock*,²⁵⁸ or black money, which is to them pretious.

Metaūhock.²⁵⁹ | *The Periwinkle.* Of which they make their *Wômpan*, or white money, of halfe the value of their *Suckaūhock*, or blacke money, of which more in the Chapter of their Coyne.

²⁵⁶ “*Horse-foot or asses-boof.*” Joffelyn. *Limulus polyphemus*, L.—From *sequanne-bogki*, ‘summer-shell-fish’?

²⁵⁷ Peq. *p’quaughbaug*, Stiles. [Abn. *pekōē*, plur. *pekawabak*, ‘huitres.’ Râle.] The signification appears to be, either ‘thick shell’ or ‘tightly closed shell.’ (*Venus mercenaria*, L.) Now called ‘round clam,’ or ‘quahaug.’

²⁵⁸ *Sücki-bogki*, black [or rather, dark-colored] shell. See after, pp. 144, 147.

²⁵⁹ Some have supposed this to be *Buccinum undatum*, L. (Gould’s Report

on Invertebr. of Mass., 305); but I think it more probable that the name belongs to one or both of the species of *Pyrula* which have retained the name of ‘periwinkle’ on the coast of New England,—*P. carica* and *P. canaliculata*. The *wômpan* was made “out of the inmost wreaths” of the shell, or “of the stem or stock, when all the shell is broken off.” (N. E. Prosp. ii. c. 3; and, after, p. 144.)—The name was perhaps derived from *mêbtaiog* (Abn. *metawakō*), an ear: ‘Ear-shaped shell.’

Cumménakíſ,
 Cummenakíſſamen,
 Cummuchickinneanâwmen?
 Numménakíſ.
 Nummuchikineanâwmen.
 Machàge.
 Aúmanep,
 Aumanápeaſh.

Have you taken ſtore?

I have taken ſtore.

I have killed many.

I have caught none.

A fiſhing-line.

Lines.

108'] The Natives take exceeding great pains in their fiſhing, eſpecially in watching their ſeaſons by night; ſo that frequently they lay their naked bodies many a cold night on the cold ſhoare about a fire of two or three ſticks, and oft in the night ſearch their Nets; and ſometimes goe in and ſtay longer in frozen water.

Hoquaún aúnaſh.²⁶⁰

Peewâſicks.

Maúmacocks.

Nponamouôog.

Npunnouwaúmen.

Mihtëuckquaſhep.

Kunnagqunneúteg.

Onawangónnakaun.

Yo onawangónnatees.

Moamitteauğ.²⁶¹

halfe as big as Sprats, plentiful

Paponaumsüog.²⁶²

Hooke, bookes.

Little bookes.

Great bookes.

I ſet nets for them.

I goe to ſearch my nets.

An Eele-pot.

A greater ſort.

A baite.

Baite with this.

A little ſort of fiſh,

in Winter.

A winter fiſh, which comes

²⁶⁰ That is, *Hoquaún* [*ubquân, ubquóan*, El.], plur. *hoquaúnaſh*.

²⁶¹ This name has been corrupted to *Mummacbog*,—now popularly applied to ſeveral ſpecies of ſmall fiſh; moſt commonly, perhaps, to the Ornamented Minnow (*Hydrargira ornata*, Le Sueur).

²⁶² That is, *papône-aumsüog*, 'winter ſmall-fiſh.' *Râle*, (s. v. *Poiffons*) names *aponaúmeſo-ak*, 'petits, de la mer,'—which may be the ſame ſpecies here deſcribed,—the 'Froſt fiſh' or 'Tom Cod' of our markets (*Gadus* [*Morrbua*] *tomcodus*, Mitchell).

up in the brookes and rivulets; some call them Frost fish, from their coming up from the Sea into fresh Brookes, in time of frost and snow.

Qunôsuog.²⁶³ | *A fresh fish*; which the Indians break the Ice in fresh ponds, when they take also many other sorts: for, to my knowledge the Countrey yeelds many sorts of other fish, which I mention not.

109²] *The generall Observation of Fish.*

How many thousands of Millions of those under water, sea-Inhabitants, in all Coasts of the world, preach to the sonnes of men on shore, to adore their glorious Maker by presenting themselves to Him as themselves (in a manner) present their lives from the wild Ocean, to the very doores of men, their fellow creatures in *New England*.

More Particular.

*What Habacuck once spake, mine eyes
Have often seene most true,
The greater fishes devoure the lesse,
And cruelly pursue.*

*Forcing them through Coves and Creekes,
To leape on driest sand,
To gaspe on earthie element, or die
By wildest Indians hand.*

*Christs little ones must hunted be
Devour'd; yet rise as Hee.
And eat up those which now a while
Their fierce devourers be.*

²⁶³ Qunnôsu, 'he is long.' Peq. *quún-noofe*, 'pickerel, or long nose.' Stiles, Ms. Lahontan; (whence, *maskinonge* or *muskelunjab*, the 'great kinonge' of the St. Abn. *kwanafē*, 'brochet.' Algonk. *kinonge*, Lawrence and the northern lakes.

Of *their nakedness* and *clothing*.

PAüskesu.²⁶⁴
Pauskesítchick
Nippóskifs.

| *Naked.*
| *Naked men and women.*
| *I am naked.*

They have a two-fold nakedness :

First ordinary and constant, when although they have a Beasts skin, or an English mantle on, yet that covers ordinarily but their hinder parts and all the foreparts from top to toe, (except their secret parts, covered with a little Apron, after the pattern of their and our first Parents) I say all else open and naked.

Their male children goe starke naked, and have no Apron untill they come to ten or twelve yeeres of age ; their Female they, in a modest blush cover with a little Apron of an hand breadth from their very birth.

Their second nakedness is when their men often abroad and both men and women within doores, leave off their beasts skin, or English cloth, and so (excepting their little Apron) are wholly naked ; yet but few of the women but will keepe their skin or cloth (though [111²] loose) or neare to them ready to gather it up about them.

Custome hath used their minds and bodies to it, and in such a freedom from any wantonness, that I have never seen that wantonness amongst them, as, (with griefe) I have heard of in *Europe*.

Nippóskénitch
Nippóskénick ewò.

| *I am rob'd of my coat.*
| *He takes away my Coat.*

²⁶⁴ *Poskeu*, naked ; anim. adj. *poskiffu*, *fitcbeg*, the naked ; literally, ' they when (he is) naked ; participial (pl.) *poske-* naked.' Eliot.

Acòh.²⁶⁵

Tummóckquashunck.

Nkéquashunck.

Mohéwonck.

Natóquashunck.

Mishannéquashunck.

Neyhommaûashunck

made of the fairest feathers of their *Neybommaûog*, or Turkeys, which commonly their old men make; and is with them as Velvet with us.

Maûnek : nquittiahiagat.²⁶⁶

Cáudnîsh.

Ocquash.

Neefashiagat.

Shwîshiagat.

Piuckquashiagat.

*Their Deere skin.**A Beavers coat.**An Otters coat.**A Rakoone-skin coat.**A Wolves-skin coat.**A Squirrill-skin coat.**A Coat or Mantle, curiously**made of the fairest feathers of their Neybommaûog, or Turkeys, which commonly their old men make; and is with them as Velvet with us.**An English Coat or Mantell.**Put off.**Put on.**Two coats.**Three coats.**Ten coats, &c.*

Obj. Within their skin or coat they creepe [112²] contentedly, by day or night, in house, or in the woods, and sleep soundly counting it a felicitie, (as indeed an earthly one it is; *Intra pelliculam quemque tenere suam*, That every man be content with his skin.

Squáus aúhaqut.²⁶⁷

Muckiis aúhaqut.

Pétacaus.

Petacawfunnèfe.

Aūtah & aútawhun.

Caukóanash.

*a Womans Mantle.**A childs Mantle.**an English Wastecoat.**a little wastecoat.**Their apron.**Stockins.*

²⁶⁵ *Hogkø*, it clothes, or covers; (passive) he is clothed: *suppos. ágquit*, when he is covered; *ne agquit*, that which covers, or clothes. *El. Comp. ocquash*, 'put on,' and *aúbaqut*, 'mantle,' (below).

²⁶⁶ *Mónak*, (*El.*) cloth; in compound words, *-ónak*, *-ónagk*; as, *womponak*, white cloth, *Deut. 22: 17*; *msquonagk*, scarlet cloth, *Numb. 4: 8*.

²⁶⁷ See note 265.

Nquittetiagáttash.
Mocúsinafs, &
Mockuſínchafs.

| a paire of *stockins*.
| *Shoes*.

Obf. Both theſe, Shoes and Stockins they make of their Deere ſkin worne out, which yet being excellently tann'd by them, is excellent for to travell in wet and ſnow; for it is ſo well tempered with oyle, that the water cleane wrings out; and being hang'd up in their chimney, they preſently drie without hurt as my ſelfe hath often proved.

Noonacóminafh.
Taubacóminafh.
Saunketippo, or,
Afhónaquo.
Moóſe.

| *Too little*.
| *Big enough*.
| a *Hat* or *Cap*.

as big as an Ox, ſome call it a red Deere.

113²] Wuffùckhóſu.

| *Painted*.

They alſo commonly paint theſe *Moóſe* and Deere-ſkins for their Summer wearing, with varietie of formes and colours.

Petouwáſinug.

| *Their Tobacco-bag*,

which hangs at their necke, or ſticks at their girdle, which is to them in ſtead of an English pocket.

Obf. Our English clothes are ſo ſtrange unto them, and their bodies inured ſo to indure the weather, that when (upon gift &c.) ſome of them have had *English* cloathes, yet in a ſhowre of raine, I have ſeen them rather expoſe their ſkins to the wet then their cloaths, and therefore pull them off, and keep them drie.

Obf. While they are amongſt the *English* they keep on the *English* apparell, but pull of all, as ſoone as they come againe into their owne Houſes, and Company.

¹ *Generall Observations of their Garments.*

How deep are the purposes and Councells, of God? what should bee the reason of this mighty difference of One mans children that all the Sonnes of men on this side the way (in *Europe, Asia* and *Africa*, should have such plenteous clothing for Body, for Soule! and the rest of *Adams* sonnes and Daughters on [114²] the other side, or *America* (some thinke as big as the other three,) should neither have nor desire clothing for their naked Soules, or Bodies.

More particular :

*O what a Tyrant's Custome long,
How doe men make a tush,
At what's in use, though ne're so fowle :
Without once shame or blush?*

*Many thousand proper Men and Women,
I have seen met in one place :
Almost all naked, yet not one,
Thought want of clothes disgrace.*

*Israell was naked, wearing cloathes!
The best clad English-man,
Not cloth'd with Christ, more naked is :
Then naked Indian.*

} *Exod*
} 32.

C H A P. X X I.

Of Religion, the soule, &c.

MAnit-manittó-
wock.²⁶⁸

| God, Gods.

115] *Obf.* He that questions whether God made the World, the *Indians* will teach him. I must acknowledge I have received in my converse with them many Confirmations of those two great points, *Heb.* 11. 6. *viz.*:

1. That God is.
2. That hee is a rewarder of all them that diligently seek him.

They will generally confesse that God made all: but then in speciall, although they deny not that *English-mans* God made *English* Men, and the Heavens and Earth there! yet

²⁶⁸ *Manit* (pl. *manittóog*, or *-oog*, El.) may be nearly translated by 'that which surpasses,' or 'that which is extraordinary.' It is formed by prefixing the indefinite and impersonal particle 'm to the subjunctive participle (*anit*) of a verb which signifies 'to surpass,' to be *more than*. Comp, *anittasb*, 'rotten,' p. 103, and see note 217. [*Anue*, which is an impersonal form of the same verb (in the indic. present,) was the sign of the comparative degree, and is reckoned by Eliot among 'adverbs of choosing,' and translated, 'more, rather.' Gram. 15, 21.] On a subsequent page (118) Mr. Williams says that the Indians were accustomed, "at the apprehension of any excellency in men, women, birds, beasts, fish, &c., to cry out *Manittóo*, that is, it is a God:" and so, he tells us (p. 105,

ante,) "they say of every thing which they cannot comprehend." Lahontan similarly defines *Manitou* as a name given by the Savages "to all that surpasses their Understanding and proceeds from a cause that they cannot trace." *Voyages* (Engl. ed. 1703) ii. 29. In compound words, *-anit* (or *-and*) was employed, without the prefix; e. g. '*Sqàuanit*, the Woman's God,' '*Wompanand*, the Eastern God,' p. 116. *With* the prefix, it signifies, some *person*, or *thing*, which is *more than* or *beyond* the ordinary. The form *manittóo*, *manittow*, or *manitou*, is that of the verb-substantive (El. Gram. 15, 16): 'he, or it, is *manit*.' "We say *God is*: the Indian of this is *Mannitow*. The two first syllables stand for *God*: the latter *assert his existence*." Exper. Mayhew, Ms. Letter.

their Gods made them and the Heaven, and Earth where they dwell.

Nummusquaunamúckqun | *God is angry with me?*
manít.

Obf. I have heard a poore *Indian* lamenting the losse of a child at break of day, call up his Wife and children, and all about him to Lamentation, and with abundance of teares cry out! O God thou hast taken away my child! thou art angry with me: O turne thine anger from me, and spare the rest of my children.

If they receive any good in hunting, fishing, Harveft &c. they acknowledge God in it.

Yea, if it be but an ordinary accident, a fall, &c. they will say God was angry and did it, [116] *musquántum manít* God is angry. But herein is their Misery.

First they branch their God-head into many Gods.

Secondly, attribute it to Creatures.

First, many Gods: they have given me the Names of thirty seven,²⁶⁹ which I have, all which in their solemne Worship they invoke: as

*Kautántowwit*²⁷⁰ the great *South-West* God, to to whose

²⁶⁹ In the winter of 1637-8, Mr. Williams, after a visit to Canonicus and Miantunnomu, wrote to Gov. Winthrop: "I find what I could never heare before, that they haue plenty of Gods or divine powers: the Sunn, Moone, Fire, Water, Snow, Earth, the Deere, the Beare, &c, are divine powers. I brought home lately from the Nanhiggonsticks the names of 38 of their Gods, all they could remember, & had I not with feare & caution withdrew, they would have fallen to worship *O God*, (as they speake) one day in 7," &c. 4 *Mafs. Hist. Coll.*, vi. 225.

²⁷⁰ See the author's address 'To the Reader,' pp. 24-25 of this edition. "As they conceive of many divine powers, so of one whom they call *Kiebtan*, to be the principal and maker of all the rest, and to be made by none." E. Winflow's *Good Newes* from N. E. (Young's *Chr. of the Pilgr.* 355). In the Delaware, "*getannitowit* means God," Heckew. *Corresp.* 422. Eliot usually *transfers* the word 'God,' without translation; but in *Gen.* xxiv. 7, he has 'Jehovah *Keib-tannit*' for 'the LORD God.' *Keibe* or *keibe* signifies 'chief, superior, greatest:' *keibt-anit*, the greatest *manit*.

Houfe all foules goe, and from whom came their Corne, Beanes, as they fay.

Wompanànd.
Chekefuwànd.
Wunnanaméanit.
Sowwanànd.
Wetuómanit.

| *The Easterne God.*
| *The Wefterne God.*
| *The Northerne God.*
| *The Southerne God.*
| *The boufe God.*

Even as the Papiſts have their He and Shee Saint Proteſt-ors as *St. George, St. Patrick, St. Denis, Virgin Mary, &c.*²⁷¹

Squáuanit.
Muckquachuckquànd.

| *The Womans God.*
| *The Childrens God.*

Obf. I was once with a *Native* dying of a wound, given him by ſome murtherous *Engliſh* (who rob'd him and run him through with a Rapier, from whom in the heat of his wound, he at preſent eſcaped from them, but [117] dying of his wound, they ſuffered Death at new *Plymouth*, in *New-England*,²⁷² this *Native* dying call'd much upon *Muckquachuckquànd*,²⁷³ which of other *Natives* I underſtood (as they

²⁷¹ Thomas Mayhew, writing in 1652, ſays of the Indians of Martha's Vineyard,—“They had their Men-Gods, Women-Gods, and Children-gods, their Companies, and Fellowſhip of gods, or Divine Powers, guiding things amongſt men, beſides innumerable more feigned gods belonging to many Creatures, to their Corn and every Colour of it:” &c. *Tears of Repentance, &c.* in 3 Maſs. Hiſt. Coll., iv. 201.

²⁷² A full account of this murder of a Narraganſett Indian, in the ſummer of 1638, by four runaway ſervants from Plymouth, was given by Mr. Williams, in a letter to Gov. Winthrop, printed in

3 Maſs. Hiſt. Coll., i. 171–73, (and repr. Knowles, 153–56). Winthrop makes mention of it (i. 267) under date of Auguſt 3, 1638; and Bradford records the particulars of the crime and of the trial and execution of the murderers, Hiſt. of Plymouth, 362–65. “The Indians ſent for Mr. Williams and made a greeveous complainte. . . . But Mr. W. pacified them, and told them they ſhould ſee juſtice done upon y^e offenders; and wente to y^e man, and tooke Mr. James, a piſition, with him.” See alſo, Williams's letter to Winthrop, Aug. 14, 1638, in 4 Maſs. Hiſt. Coll., vi. 249.

²⁷³ *Muckquachucks-anit*. See note 52.

believed) had appeared to the dying young man, many yeares before, and bid him when ever he was in distresse call upon him.

Secondly, as they have many of these fained Deities: fo worship they the Creatures in whom they conceive doth rest some Deitie:

Keefuckquànd.
Nanepaûshat.
Paumpágusfit.
Yotáanit.

| *The Sun God.*
| *The Moone God.*
| *The Sea.*
| *The Fire God.*

Supposing that Deities be in these, &c.

When I have argued with them about their Fire-God: can it say they be, but this fire must be a God, or Divine power, that out of a stone will arise in a Sparke, and when a poore naked *Indian* is ready to starve with cold in the House, and especially in the Woods, often saves his life, doth dresse all our Food for us, and if it be angry will burne the House about us, yea if a spark fall into the drie wood, burnes up the Country, (though this burning of the Wood to them they count a [118] Benefit both for destroying of vermin, and keeping downe the Weeds and thickets?)

Præsentem narrat quælibet herba Deum,

Every little Grasse doth tell,

The sons of Men, there God doth dwell.

Besides there is a generall Custome amongst them, at the apprehension of any Excellency in Men, Women, Birds, Beasts, Fish, &c. to cry out *Manittóo*, that is, it is a God, as thus if they see one man excell others in Wisdome, Valour, strength, Activity &c. they cry out *Manittóo* A God: and

therefore when they talke amongst themselves of the *English* ships, and great buildings, of the plowing of their Fields, and especially of Bookes and Letters, they will end thus: *Manittôwock*²⁷⁴ They are Gods: *Cummanittôo*, you are a God, &c. A strong Conviction naturall in the soule of man, that God is; filling all things, and places, and that all Excellencies dwell in God, and proceed from him, and that they only are blessed who have that Jehovah their portion.

Nickómmo.

| *A Feast or Dance.*

Of this Feast they have publike, and private and that of two sorts.

First in sickness, or Drouth, or Warre, or Famine.

[19] Secondly, After Harvest, after hunting, when they enjoy a caulme of Peace, Health, Plenty, Prosperity, then *Nickómmo* a Feast, especially in Winter, for then (as the Turke saith of the Christian, rather the Antichristian,) they run mad once a yeare) in their kind of Christmas feasting.²⁷⁵

Powwáw.²⁷⁶

Powwaûog.

| *A Priest.*

| *Priests.*

²⁷⁴ See note 268, on *Manit* and *Manittôo*. The common use by the Indians of these words, and their application, by 'general custom,' to every thing excellent, or extra-ordinary, hardly authorize the inference which Mr. Williams drew, of belief in an omnipresent Deity.

²⁷⁵ "The Nanohiggansets exceed in their blind devotion, and have a great spacious house, wherein only some few (that are, as we may term them, priests) come. Thither, at certain known times, resort all their people, and offer almost all the riches they have to their gods, as kettles, skins, hatchets, beads, knives, &c., all which are cast by the priests into

a great fire that they make in the midst of the house, and there consumed to ashes." Winflow's Good Newses from N. E. (Young's Chron. of the Pilgrims, 358-9.)

²⁷⁶ *Pauwau-og*, El. This name was common to several North American dialects. Its etymology is uncertain: but it is obviously related to *taupowau-og*, "their wise men and old men, of which number their priests are also," (p. 120, post: comp. *taupowawo*, 'a wise speaker,' p. 57, ante).—Cree, *tâpwayoo*, he true-says, speaks the truth. Howse.—Chip. *ke-tâpwa*, thou true-speakest. Jones (in John iv. 17).

Obj. These doe begin and order their service, and Invocation of their Gods, and all the people follow, and joyne interchangeably in a laborious bodily service, unto sweating, especially of the Priest, who spends himselfe in strange Antick Gestures, and Actions even unto fainting.

In sicknesse the Priest comes close to the sick person, and performes many strange Actions about him, aud threaten and conjures out the sicknesse. They conceive that there are many Gods or divine Powers within the body of a man: In his pulse, his heart, his Lungs, &c.

I confesse to have most of these their customes by their owne Relation, for after once being in their Houses and beholding what their Worship was, I durst never bee an eye witnesse, Spectatour, or looker on, least I [120] should have been partaker of Sathans Inventions and Worships, contrary to *Ephes.* 5. 14.²⁷⁷

Nanouwétea.

*An over-Seer and Orderer of
their Worship.*

Neen nanowwúnnemun.

I will order or oversee.

They have an exact forme of King, Priest, and Prophet, as was in Israel typicall of old in that holy Land of *Canaan*, and as the Lord *Iesus* ordained in his spirituall Land of *Canaan* his Church throughout the whole World: their Kings or Governours called *Sachimaüog*,²⁷⁸ Kings, and *Atauskowaüog*²⁷⁹ Rulers doe govern: Their Priests, performe and manage their Worship: Their wise men and old men of which number the Priests are also,) whom they call *Taupowaüog*²⁸⁰

²⁷⁷ For *Ephs.* 5. 11, probably: "And have no fellowship with the unfruitful works of darknes but rather reprove them."

²⁷⁸ See after, p. 132.

²⁷⁹ '*Atauskawaw-wáuog.*' p. 132.

²⁸⁰ See, before, p. 57, note 120.

they make solemne speeches and Orations, or Lectures to them, concerning Religion, Peace, or Warre and all things. Nowemaúfitteem. | *I give away at the Worship.*

He or she that makes this *Nickòmmo* Feast or Dance, besides the Feasting of sometimes twenty, fifty, an hundreth, yea I have seene neere a thousand persons at one of these Feasts) they give I say a great quantity of money, and all sort of their goods (according to and sometimes beyond their Estate) [121] in severall small parcells of goods, or money, to the value of eighteen pence, two Shillings, or thereabouts to one person: and that person that receives this Gift, upon the receiving of it goes out, and hollowes thrice for the health and prosperity of the Party that gave it, the Mr. or Mistris of the Feast.

Nowemacañash.

| *He give these things.*

Nitteaũguash.

| *My money.*

Nummaumachíuwash.

| *My goods.*

Obf. By this Feasting and Gifts, the Divell drives on their worships pleasantly (as he doth all false worships, by such plausible Earthly Arguments of uniformities, universalities, Antiquities, Immunities, Dignities, Rewards, unto submitters, and the contrary to Refusers) so that they run farre and neere and aske

Awaun. Nákommit?

| *Who makes a Feast?*

Nkekinnewaũmen.

| *I goe to the Feast.*

Kekineawaũi.

| *He is gone to the Feast.*

They have a modest Religious perswasion not to disturb any man, either themselves *English*, *Dutch*, or any in their Conscience, and worship, and therefore say:

Aquiewopwaũwash.

| *Peace, hold your peace.*

Aquiewopwaũwock.

122] Peeyaúntam.
Peeyaúntamwock.
Cowwéwonck.²⁸¹

| *He is at Prayer.*
They are praying.
The Soule,

Derived from *Cowwene* to sleep, because say they, it workes and operates when the body sleeps. *Michachunck*²⁸² the soule, in a higher notion, which is of affinity, with a word signifying a looking glasse, or cleere resemblance, so that it hath its name from a cleere sight or discerning, which indeed seemes very well to suit with the nature of it.

Wuhóck²⁸³
Nohòck: cohòck.
Awaunkeesítteóúwincohòck:
Tunna-awwa com-
mitchichunck-
kitonckquèan ?
An. Sowánakitaūwaw.

| *The Body.*
My body, your body.
Who made you ?
Whether goes your soule
when you die ?
It goes to the South-West.

Obj. They beleive that the soules of Men and Women goe to the Sou-west, their great and good men and Women to *Cautàntouwit* his House, where they have hopes (as the Turkes have of carnall Joyes): Murtherers thieves and Lyers, their Soules (say they) wander restlesse abroad.

Now because this Book (by Gods good pro- [123] vidence) may come into the hand of many fearing God, who may

²⁸¹ *Koueu, kouweu* (El.) he sleeps; infinit. *kouen-at*, to sleep; verbal, *kouè-onk, kaúèonk*, a sleeping; sleep.

²⁸² Quinnip. *Mittáchonkg*, soul; Peirson.—Possibly, Mr. Williams was mistaken as to the affinity of this word with one ‘signifying a looking glasse.’ See, after, p. 157, two words translated ‘a

looking glasse.’—Eliot translates soul by *nasbauonk*, lit. ‘a breathing’ (*spiritus, πνεῦμα*).

²⁸³ This has the pronominal affix of the 3d person; *his* body.—*Mubbog*, El., *mòbbóg*, Cott., the body (of man or animal); the *self*: *mubbog*, my body, myself, El.—Abn. *n’bagbé*, my body.

also have many an opportunity of occasionall discourse with some of these their wild brethren and Sisters, and may speake a word for their and our glorious Maker, which may also prove some preparatory Mercy to their Soules: I shall propose some proper expressions concerning the Creation of the World, and mans Estate, and in particular theirs also, which from my selfe many hundreths of times, great numbers of them have heard with great delight, and great convictions: which who knowes (in Gods holy season) may rise to the exalting of the Lord Jesus Christ in their conversion, and salvation?

Nétop Kunnatôte-
mous.

Natôtema:

Tocketunnántum?

Awaun Keefiteouwin

Kéefuck?

Aûke Wechêkom?

Mittauke.

Some will answer *Tattâ* I cannot tell, some will answer *Manittôwock* the Gods.

Tâfuóg Manittowock.

124] Maunaüog Mishaúna-

wock.

Nétop machàge.

Paûfuck naúnt manit.

Cuppífsittone.

Cowauwaúnemun.

*Friend, I will aske you a
Question.*

Speake on.

What thinke you?

Who made the Heavens?

The Earth, the Sea?

The World.

How many Gods bee there?

Many, great many.

Friend, not so.

There is onely one God.

You are mistaken.

You are out of the way.

A phrase which much pleaseth them, being proper for their wandering in the woods, and similitudes greatly please them.

Kukkakótemous, wáchit-
 quáshouwe.
 Kuttaunchemókous.
 Paúfuck naúnt manít kéefit-
 tin keefuck, &c.
 Napannetafhêmittan nauge-
 cautúmmonab nshque.²⁸⁴
 Naúgom naúnt wukkefittín-
 nes wáme teâgun.
 Wuche mateâg.
 Quttatafhuchuckqúnnauf-
 keefitínnes wáme.
 Nquittaqúnne.
 Wuckéefitin wequâi.
 Néefqunne.
 Wuckéefitin Keéfuck.
 125] Shúckqunne wuckéefitin
 Aúke kà wechêkom.
 Yóqunne wuckkéefitin Nip-
 paúus kà Nanepaúshat.
 Neenash-mamockíuwash
 wêquanantiganash.
 Kà wáme anóckfuck.
 Napannetafhúckqunne
 Wuckéefittin puffuckfé-
 fuck wáme.
 Keefuckquíuke.
 Ka wáme namaúfuck.
 Wechekommíuke.
 Quttatafhúckqunne wuckkéé-
 fittin penashimwock wamè

I will tell you, presently.

I will tell you newes.

*One onely God made the
Heavens, &c.*

*Five thousand yeers agoe
and upwards.*

He alone made all things.

Out of nothing.

*In six dayes he made all
things.*

*The first day Hee made the
Light.*

*The second day Hee
made the Firmament.*

*The third day hee made
the Earth and Sea.*

*The fourth day he made the
Sun and the Moon.*

Two great Lights.

And all the Starres.

*The fifth day hee made all the
Fowle.*

In the Ayre, or Heavens.

*And all the Fish in the
Sea.*

*The sixth day hee made all the
Beasts of the Field.*

²⁸⁴ Read, *Napannetafbè mittannaugé cautúmmonab nshque.*

<p>Wuttàke wuchè wuckeefittin. paufuck Enin, or, Enef- kéetomp.²⁸⁵</p> <p>Wuche mifhquòck. Ka wefuonckgonnakaânes Adam, túppautea mifh- quòck.</p> <p>126] Wuttàke wuchè, Câwit mifhquock.</p> <p>Wuckaudnúmmenes manit peetaûgon wuche Adam.</p> <p>Kâ wuchè peteaûgon. Wuckeefitînes paufuck fquâw.</p> <p>Kâ pawtouwînes Adâmuck. Nawônt Adam wuttúnna- waun nuppeteâgon ewò.²⁸⁶</p> <p>Enadatafhúckqunne, aquêi. Nagaû wuchè quttatafhúck- qune anacaûfuock English- mânuck.</p> <p>Enadatafhuckqunnóckat taubataûmwock.</p>	<p><i>Last of all he made one Man</i></p> <p><i>Of red Earth, And call'd him Adam, or red Earth.</i></p> <p><i>Then afterward, while Adam, or red Earth slept.</i></p> <p><i>God tooke a rib from Adam, or red Earth.</i></p> <p><i>And of that rib he made One woman,</i></p> <p><i>And brought her to Adam.</i></p> <p><i>When Adam saw her, he said, This is my bone.</i></p> <p><i>The seventh day hee rested, And therefore Englishmen worke six dayes.</i></p> <p><i>On the seventh day they praise God.</i></p>
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Obs. At this Relation they are much satisfied, with a reason why (as they observe) the *English* and *Dutch*, &c. labour six dayes, and rest and worship the seventh.

Besides, they will say, Wee never heard of [127] this before: and then will relate how they have it from their Fathers, that *Kautântowwit* made one man and woman of a

²⁸⁵ That is: *homo*, or *vir*. See before, notes 3 and 5.

²⁸⁶ When-he-saw Adam he-said my-rib this (*or*, *she*.)

stone, which disliking, he broke them in pieces, and made another man and woman of a Tree, which were the Fountains of all mankind.

They apprehending a vast difference of Knowledge betweene the *Englisch* and themselves, are very observant of the *Englisch* lives: I have heard them say to an Englishman (who being hindred, broke a promise to them) You know God, Will you lie Englishman?²⁸⁷

Nétop kíkita.
 Englíshmánuck,
 Dutchmánuck, kéenouwin
 kà wamè mittaukêuk-
 kitonckquéhettit.
 Mattùx fwowánnakit
 aúog,
 Michichónckquock.
 Wàmè, ewò páwfuck²⁸⁸
 Manít wawóntakick.
 Ewò manít waumaúfachick
 kà uckqushanchick.
 Keéfaqut aúog.
 128] Michéme weeteantámwock.
 Naúgom manít wékick.
 Ewo manít mat wauóntakick.

Hearken to mee.

Englisch-men.

*Dutch men, and you and
 all the world, when they
 die.*

*Their soules goe not to the
 Southwest.*

*All that know that one
 God.*

*That love and feare
 Him.*

*They goe up to Heaven.
 They ever live in joy.*

*In Gods owne House.
 They that know not this God.*

²⁸⁷ "It being an ordinary and common thing with our neighbours, [the Narraganetts,] if they apprehend any shew of breach of promise in my selfe, thus to object: doe you know God, and will you lye? &c."—R. Williams to Gov. Winthrop, 1638; in 4 Mass. Hist. Coll., vi. 227.

²⁸⁸ The order of this and the lines following is: All this one God they-who-know, this God they-who-love and they-who-fear, to heaven they-go, forever they-sweet-minded-are (*weeteantámwock*), of-him God in-his-house. This God not they-who-know, &c.

Matwaumaûfachick.
 Mât ewò uckquhánchick.
 Kamóotakick.
 Pupannouwâchick.
 Nochifquauónchick.
 Nanompanífsichick,
 Kemineíachick.
 Mammaúfachick.
 Nanísquégachick.
 Wame naúmakiâuog.
 Micheme maûog.
 Awaun kukkakote-
 mógwunnes?
 Manittóo wúfluckwheke.

That love.
And feare him not.
Thieves.
Lyers.
Vncleane persons.
Idle persons.
Murtherers.
Adulterers.
Oppressors or fierce.
They goe to Hell or the Deepe.
They shall ever lament.
Who told you so?
Gods Booke or Writing.

Obs. After I had (as farre as my language would reach) discoursed (upon a time) before the chiefe *Sachim* or *Prince* of the Countrey, with his *Archpriests*, and many other in a full Assembly; and being night, wearied with [129] travell and discourse, I lay downe to rest; and before I slept, I heard this passage:

A *Quinnibicut* Indian (who had heard our discourse) told the *Sachim Miantunnômu*,²⁸⁹ that soules went up to

²⁸⁹ In the first edition, the *o* of the penult has a mark which resembles a Greek circumflex. This mark could not readily be reproduced, and the name is printed above with *ô*,—as on page 132, post.—The forms under which this name has been written are all but innumerable. Roger Williams usually, if not always, wrote *Miantunnomu*. Callender (Hist. Discourse, Elton's ed. p. 57) stated that "in all the manuscripts" the spelling was "Myantonomy, or Miantonome,

or Miantonomu;" but Mr. Williams, whose authority is, to say the least, as good as any of 'all the manuscripts,' wrote *u* instead of *o* in the third syllable, and doubled the *n* between the vowels of the third and fourth syllables. The principal *accent* was unquestionably on the penult, but the sound of the penultimate vowel is not so certainly determined. The impression which I have received, from the collation of various forms of the name occurring in contem-

Heaven,²⁹⁰ or downe to Hell ; For, faith he, Our fathers have told us, that our soules goe to the *Southwest*.

The *Sachim* answered, But how doe you know your selfe, that your soules goe to the *Southwest* ; did you ever see a soule goe thither ?

The Natiue replyed ; when did he (naming my selfe) see a soule goe to Heaven or Hell ?

The *Sachim* againe replied : He hath books and writings, and one which God himselfe made, concerning mens soules, and therefore may well know more then wee that have none, but take all upon trust from our forefathers.

The said *Sachim*, and the chiefe of his people, discoursed by themselves, of keeping the Englishmans day of worship, which I could easily have brought the Countrey to,²⁹¹ but that I was perswaded, and am, that Gods way is first to turne a soule from it's Idolls, both of heart, worship, and conversation, before it is capable of worship, to the true and living

porary manuscripts, is, that the secondary accent was on the second syllable ; that the vowels of the first, third and last syllables were obscure and unaccented ; and that the vowel of the penult was *nasal*, more nearly represented by the French *on* than by the English *o*.

²⁹⁰ A negative is omitted here : "that soules went *not* up to Heaven," or "that he did not believe that soules" &c., appears to be the sense required.

²⁹¹ See an extract from Williams's letter to Winthrop, in note 269, and his address 'To the Reader,' p. 27 (of this edition) and note 15. The following extracts from the lost 'Discourse of the Name *Heathen*,' which are taken from Baylie's 'Dissuasive from the Errours of the Time' (Lond. 1645), have been already referred to, in the preface (p. 13.)

"For our *New-England* parts, I can speak it confidently, I know it to have been easie for myself, long ere this, to have brought many thousands of these natives, yea, the whole Countrey to a far greater Antichristian conversion, than ever was heard of in *America*. I could have brought the whole Countrey to have observed one day in seven : I adde, to have received Baptisme, to have come to a stated Church meeting, to have maintained Priests, and Forms of Prayer, and a whole form of Antichristian Worship, in life and death." p. 10.

"Wo be to me, if I call that conversion to God, which is indeed the subversion of the souls of millions in Christendom, from one false worship to another." p. 11. (Baylie, ut supra, p. 69.)

God, according to 1 *Thes.* 1. 9. You turned [130] to God from Idolls to serve or worship the living and true God. As also, that the two first Principles and Foundations of true Religion or Worship of the true God in Christ, are Repentance from dead workes, and Faith towards God, before the Doctrine of Baptisme or washing and the laying on of hands, which containe the Ordinances and Practises of worship; the want of which, I conceive, is the bane of million of soules in England, and all other Nations professing to be Christian Nations who are brought by publique authority to Baptisme and fellowship with God in Ordinances of worship, before the saving worke of Repentance, and a true turning to God, *Heb.* 6. 2.

Nétop, kitonckquëan kun-
núppamin michéme.

Michéme cuppauqua
néimmin.

Cummuſquaunamúckqun
manít.

Cuppauquanúckqun

Wuchè cummanittówock
manâuog.

131] Wáme pitch chíckauta
mittaúke.

*Friend, when you die you periſh
everlaſtingly.*

*You are everlaſtingly
undone.*

God is angry with you.

He will deſtroy you.

For your many Gods.

*The whole world ſhall ere long
be burnt.*

Obſ. Upon the relating that God hath once deſtroyed the world by water; and that He will viſit it the ſecond time with conſuming fire: I have been asked this profitable queſtion of ſome of them, What then will become of us? Where then ſhall we be?

Manít ánawat,
Cuppittakúnnamun
wèpe wáme.

*God commandth,
That all men now
repent.*

The generall Observation of Religion, &c.

The wandering Generations of *Adams* lost posteritie, having lost the true and living God their Maker, have created out of the nothing of their owne inventions many false and fained Gods and Creators.

More particular :

Two sorts of men shall naked stand.

Befote the burning ire

2 Thef. 1. 8.

Of him that shortly shall appeare,

In dreadfull flaming fire.

First, millions know not God, nor for

His knowledge, care to seeke :

132]

Millions have knowledge store, but in

Obedience are not meeke.

If woe to Indians, Where shall Turk,

Where shall appeare the Iew ?

O, where shall stand the Christian false ?

O blessed then the True.

CHAP. XXII.

Of their Government and Justice.

Sâchim-maûog.²⁹²
Sachimaûonck,

| *King, Kings.*

| *A Kingdome or Monarchie.*

²⁹² Pequot, *súnjum* ; Narr. *faunchem* ; Stiles.—*Sagamore*, a king ; *facbem*, idem ; Wood.—Abn. *sañgmañ*, capitaine ; *ne-sañgmañi*, je suis capitaine ; Râle.—Del. *sagkimau*, he is a chief ; Heckw. A comparison of these several forms of the same word establishes the identity of *facbem* with *sagamore*. The former was a substantive, or verbal ; the latter represents, probably, the 3 pers. sing. indic. of the trans. verb which Eliot writes *sonkqbua* and *sobkau-au*, 'he prevails over,' 'has the mastery of.' (Compare *fontim*, master. El.)

Obs. Their Government is Monarchicall,²⁹³ yet at present the chiefest government in the Counrey is divided betweene a younger *Sachim*, Miantunnōmu, and an elder *Sachim*, Caunouñicus, of about fourefcore yeeres old, this young mans Uncle; and their agreement in the Government is remarkable:

The old *Sachim* will not be offended at what the young *Sachim* doth; and the young *Sachim* will not doe what hee conceives will displeafe his Uncle.

133] Saunks.²⁹⁴

Sauncksquuaog.

Otân,-nash.

Otânick.

Sachimmaacómmock²⁹⁵

according to their condition, is farre different from the other house, both in capacity or receipt; and also the finenessse and quality of their Mats.

Ataúskawaw-wáuog.²⁹⁶

Wauðntam.²⁹⁷

Wauóntakick.

Enatch²⁹⁸ or eatch Keèn

anawáyeán.

The Queen, or Sachims Wife.

Queenes.

The towne, townes.

To the towne.

A Princes house, which ac-

ording to their condition, is farre different from the other house, both in capacity or receipt; and also the finenessse and quality of their Mats.

Lord, Lords.

A Wise man or Counsellour.

Wise men.

Your will shall be law.

²⁹³ "Their sachems cannot be all called kings, but only some few of them, to whom the rest resort for protection, and pay homage unto them. . . . Of this sort is *Massawowat* [Massasoit], our friend, and *Conanacus* of *Nanobigganset*, our supposed enemy." E. Winslow's Good Newes from N. E. (in Young's Chron. of Plymouth, 360-61.)

²⁹⁴ *Sonksq, sonkifq*, El.—*Saunck squaub*, Stiles.—A contraction of *saunk squa*, i. e. sachem squaw. *Keche sonksq* [great saunk-squa] 'queen;' Esther i. 9, 11, 15.—"The *squa-sachem*, for so they call the

Sachem's wife, gave us friendly entertainment." Winslow's Good Newes from N. E.; ut supra, 317.

²⁹⁵ "The *sachimo comaco*, for so they call the sachim's place, though they call an ordinary house *witeo*." Ibid.

²⁹⁶ See before, p. 120.

²⁹⁷ *Wauantam*, [he is] wife. El. Gram. 16, 24: suppos. 3d pers. sing. *waantog*; particip. plu. *waantogig* (*wauóntakick*), the wife.

²⁹⁸ *Ne naj*, so be it; 'even so,' Matt. xi. 26. 'The 3d pers. sing. imperative, of *nnib*, or *nnano*, (*nni*, p. 57, ante,) 'it is so.'

Enàtch nèen ánowa.
Ntínnume.
Ntacquêtunck ewò.
Kuttáckquêtous.

Let my word stand.
He is my man.
He is my subject.
I will subject to you.

Obs. Beside their generall subjection to the highest *Sachims*, to whom they carry presents: They have also particular Protectors, under *Sachims*, to whom they also carry presents, and upon any injury received, and complaint made, these Protectors will revenge it.

Ntannôtam.
Kuttannôtous.
134] Miâwene.
Wêpe cummiâwene.
Miawêtuck.
Wauwhâutowash.
Miawêmucks.
Miawéhettit.

I will revenge it.
I will revenge you.
A Court or meeting.
Come to the meeting.
Let us meet.
Call a meeting.
At a meeting.
When they meet.

Obs. The *Sachims*, although they have an absolute Monarchie over the people; yet they will not conclude of ought that concernes all, either Lawes, or Subsidies, or warres, unto which the people are averse, and by gentle persuasion cannot be brought.

Peyaùtch naûgum.
Pétiteatch.
Mishaúntowash.
Nanántowash.
Kunnadsíttamen wêpe.
Wunnadsíttamútta.
Neen pitch-nnadsíttamen.
Machíffu ewò.

Let himsefse come here.
Let him come.
Speake out.
Speake plaine.
You must inquire after this.
Let us seach into it.
I will inquire into it.
He is naught.

Cuttiantacompáwwem.

Cuttiantakiskquáwquaw.

Wèpe cukkúmmoot.²⁹⁹

Mat méfhnawmônafh

135] Mát mèsh nummám-
menafh.

Wèpe kunnishquêko

cummiskifsawwaw.

You are a lying fellow.

You are a lying woman.

You have stole.

I did not see those things.

I did not take them.

*You are fierce and quar-
relsome.*

Obs. I could never discern that excess of scandalous sins amongst them, which *Europe* aboundeth with. Drunkenesse and gluttony, generally they know not what finnes they be; and although they have not so much to restraine them (both in respect of knowledge of God and Lawes of men) as the *English* have, yet a man shall never heare of such crimes amongst them of robberies, murders, adulteries, &c. as amongst the *English*:³⁰⁰ I conceive that the glorious Sunne

²⁹⁹ In October, 1675, Mr. Williams, writing to Gov. Leveret, reports a conversation which he had with Nananawtunu (Canonchet), to dissuade him from taking part with Philip in hostility to the English: "I told the young Prince . . . all their war is *Commootin*; they have *Commootind* our Howses, our Cattell, our Heads &c., and y^t not by their Artillerie but our Weapons."—Plym. Col. Records x. App. p. 455.—*Kommato, kummato* (El.), he steals.

³⁰⁰ "On longer acquaintance and more experience, he seems to have altered his opinion of them; as appears by some expressions in a manuscript of his, yet remaining. 'The distinction of drunken, and sober, honest sachems, is (says he) both lamentable and ridiculous; lamentable, that all Pagans are given to drunk-

eness; and ridiculous, that those (of whom he was speaking) are excepted. It is (says he) notoriously known, what consciences all Pagans make of lying, stealing, whoring, murdering,' &c. 25th 6th mo. 1658."—Callender's Hist. Discourse, 140.

Writing to the Commissioners of the United Colonies, October 5, 1654, to dissuade them from interfering in the quarrel between the Narragansetts and the Indians of Long Island, he calls upon them to consider "if, for the sake of a few inconsiderable Pagans and Beasts wallowing in Idleness, Stealing, Lying, Whoring, Treacheries, Witchcrafts, Blasphemies and Idolatries,—all that the gracious hand of the Lord hath so wonderfully planted in this Wildernes should be destroyed."—Plym. Records, x. 442.

of so much truth as shines in *England*, hardens our *English* hearts; for what the Sunne softeneth not, it hardens.

Tawhitch yò enêan ?	<i>Why doe you fo ?</i>
Tawhitch cummootóan ?	<i>Why doe you steale ?</i>
Tawhitch nanompaniêan ?	<i>Why are you thus idle or base ?</i>
Wewhepapúnnoke.	<i>Bind him.</i>
Wèpe kunnishaûmis.	<i>You kild him.</i>
Wèpe kukkemieantín.	<i>You are the murtherer.</i>
Safaumitaúwhitch.	<i>Let him be whipt.</i>
Upponckquittáwhitch.	<i>Let him be imprisoned.</i>
136] Níppitch ewò.	<i>Let him die.</i>
Níphéttitch.	<i>Let them die.</i>
Níff-Níffòke. ³⁰¹	<i>Kill him.</i>
Púm-púmموke.	<i>Shoot him.</i>

Obs. The most usuall Custome amongst them in executing punishments, is for the *Sachim* either to beat, or whip, or put to death with his owne hand, to which the common fort most quietly submit: though sometimes the *Sachim* sends a secret Executioner, one of his chiefest Warriours to fetch of a head, by some sudden unexpected blow of a Hatchet, when they have feared Mutiny by publike execution.

Kukkechequaûbenitch.	<i>You shall be hanged.</i>
Níppansínea.	<i>I am innocent.</i>
Uppansínea-ewo.	<i>He is innocent.</i>
Matmeshnowaûwon.	<i>I knew nothing of it.</i>
NNnowaûntum.	<i>I am sorry.</i>
Nummachiemè.	<i>I have done ill.</i>
Aumaúnemoke.	<i>Let it passe, or take away this accusation.</i>

³⁰¹ Imperat. 2d pers. sing. and plural; *nusfo, nusfook*, El. Indic. (3d pers.) *nusbau*, 'he kills,' or 'he is killed,'—the active and passive having the same form.

Konkeeteatch		<i>Let him live.</i>
Ewò.		
Konkeeteáhetti		<i>Let them live.</i>

137] *Observation generall, of their Government.*

The wildest of the sonnes of Men have ever found a necessity, (for preservation of themselves, their Families and Properties) to cast themselves into some Mould or forme of Government.

More particular :

Adulteries, Murthers, Robberies, Thefts,

1 *Wild Indians punish these!*

And hold the Scales of Justice so,

That no man farthing leese.

When Indians beare the horrid filths,

2 *Of Irish, English Men,*

The horrid Oaths and Murthers late,

Thus say these Indians then.

We weare no Cloaths, have many Gods,

And yet our finnes are lesse :

You are Barbarians, Pagans wild,

Your Land's the Wilder nesse.

Of Marriage.

WV		<i>A young man.</i>
Uskéne. Keegsquaw.		<i>A Virgin or Maide.</i>

³⁰² So, in the first edition; for XXIII.

Segaûo.	<i>A Widdower.</i>
Segousquaw.	<i>A Widdow.</i>
Wuffénetam.	<i>He goes a wooing.</i>
Nofénemuck.	<i>He is my sonne in Law.</i>
Wuffenetûock, ^{302*}	<i>They make a match.</i>
Awetawátuock.	

Obf. Single fornication they count no sin, but after Mariage (which they solemnize by consent of Parents and publique approbation publicly) then they count it hainous for either of them to be false.

Mammaûfu.	<i>An adulterer.</i>
Nummam mógwun ewò.	<i>He hath wronged my bed.</i>
Pallè nochisquaûaw.	<i>He or She hath committed adultery.</i>

Obf. In this case the wronged party may put away or keepe the party offending: commonly if the Woman be false, the offended Husband will be solemnly revenged upon [39] the offender, before many witnesses, by many blowes and wounds, and if it be to Death, yet the guilty resists not, nor is his Death revenged.

Nquittócaw.	<i>He hath one Wife.</i>
Necfócaw.	<i>He hath two Wives.</i>
Sfhócowaw.	<i>He hath three.</i>
Yócowaw.	<i>Foure Wives, &c.</i>

Their Number is not stinted, yet the chief Nation in

^{302*} The reciprocal form of the verb *wuffénetam*, he marries ('goes a wooing'); *wuffen-ittu-og*, they marry one the other. So, below, *Awetawátuock* (*wetawadteog*,

El.) for *wetau-attu-og*, the reciprocal of *wetauomau* (El.) 'he takes a wife' or 'she takes a husband;' literally, 'they boufe together.'

the Country, the Narriganfets (generally have but one Wife.³⁰³

Two causes they generally alledge for their many Wives.

First desire of Riches, because the Women bring in all the increase of the Field, &c. the Husband onely fisheth, hunteth, &c.

Secondly, their long sequestering themselves from their wives after conception, untill the child be weaned, which with some is long after a yeare old, generally they keep their children long at the breast :

Committamus.

Cowéewo.

Tahanawatu?ta shin-
commaugemus.

Napannetafhom
paúgataf.

Qutta, énáda fhoa-

140] súck ta fhompaúgataf

Your Wife.

*How much gave you for
her?*

*Five fathome of their
Money.*

*Six, or seven, or eight
Fathome.*

If some great mans Daughter *Piuckquompaúgataf*, ten fathome.

Obs. Generally the Husband gives these payments for a Dowrie, (as it was in *Israell*) to the Father or Mother, or guardian of the Maide. To this purpose if the man be poore, his Friends and neighbours doe *pummenúmmín teàuguaś*, that is contribute Money toward the Dowrie.

³⁰³ Edward Winflow, when he visited Corbitant, the petty sachem of Mattapuyf, (in Swanzey) "took occasion to tell them . . . of the ten commandments; all which they listened to with great attention, and liked well of; only the seventh commandment they excepted against, thinking there were many inconveniences in it, that a man should be tied to one woman."—Good Newes from N. E. (Young's Chron. of Plymouth, 325.)

Nummittamus.	<i>My Wife.</i>
Nullógana.	
Waumaûfu.	<i>Loving.</i>
Wunnêkefu.	<i>Proper.</i>
Maânfu.	<i>Sober and chaste.</i>
Muchickéhea.	<i>Fruifull.</i>
Cutchaſhekeâmîs?	<i>How many children</i>
	<i>have you had?</i>
Nquittékea.	<i>I have had one.</i>
Neefékea.	<i>Two, &c.</i>

Obf. They commonly abound with Children, and increafe mightily; except the plague fall amongſt them, or other leſſer ſickneſſes, and then having no meanes of recovery, they periſh wonderfully.

Katoû enéechaw.	<i>She is falling into Travell.</i>
141] Néechaw.	<i>She is in Travell.</i>
Paugcôtche nechaúwaw.	<i>She is already delivered.</i>
Kitummâyi-mes-néechaw.	<i>She was juſt now delivered.</i>

Obf. It hath pleaſed God in wonderfull manner to moderate that curſe of the ſorrowes of Child-bearing to theſe poore Indian Women: So that ordinarily they have a wonderfull more ſpeedy and eaſie Travell, and delivery then the Women of *Europe*: not that I thinke God is more gracious to them above other Women, but that it followes, Firſt from the hardneſſe of their conſtitution, in which reſpect they beare their ſorrowes the eaſier.

Secondly from their extraordinary great labour (even above the labour of men) as in the Field, they ſuſtaine the labour of it, in carrying of mighty Burthens, in digging clammes and getting other Shelfiſh from the Sea, in beating all their corne in Morters: &c. Moſt of them count it a ſhame for

a Woman in Travell to make complaint, and many of them are scarcely heard to groane. I have often knowne in one Quarter of an houre a Woman merry in the Houfe, and delivered and merry againe: aud within two [142] dayes abroad, and after foure or five dayes at worke, &c.

Noofâwwaw.
Noðnfu Nonánnis.
Wunnunògan.
Wunnunnóganafh.
Munnúnnug.³⁰⁴
Aumáúnemun.

A Nurse.
A fucking Child.
A breast.
Breasts.
Milke.
To take from the breast,
or Weane.

Obs. They put away (as in Ifraell) frequently for other occasions beside Adultery, yet I know many Couples that have lived twenty, thirty, forty yeares together.

Npakétam.
Npakénaqun.
Aquiepakétash.
Aquiepokesháttous
Awetawátuonck.
Tackquiúwock.
Towiú-úwock.³⁰⁵

I will put her away.
I am put away.
Doe not put away.
Doe not break the knot
of Marriage.
Twins.
Orphans.

³⁰⁴ Eliot and Cotton wrote, for 'milk,' *sogkòdtunk* and *sogkòdonk* [a participial, from the verb *sogkòdtinnum*, signifying, 'what is drawn forth']; but, properly, the application of that word was restricted to the milk of animals. Cotton's "Milk for Babes" was translated, as 'Meninnunk wutch Mukkiefog,' and in the quotation on its title-page, from 1 Peter, ii. 2, *meninnunnúe* (adjective) is

substituted for *sogkòdtungane* of Eliot's version.—*Munnúnnug* [*m'nónuk*] is a verbal, from *nónau*, 'he sucks.' With the prefix of the 3d person, it becomes *wunnúnnug*,—whence, *wunnunògan*, a breast.

³⁰⁵ *Touwiés, touiés*; plur. *-efog*; Eliot. A diminutive from *touú*, pl. *touieog, towieog*, they are left alone, deserted.—[Whence, also, *touob-komuk*, a desert, or solitary-place, 'the wilderness.' El.]

Ntouwîû.
 Wáuchaûnat.³⁰⁶
 Wauchaúamachick.
 Nullóquafo.³⁰⁷
 Peewaûqun.

I am an Orpbane.
 A Guardian.
 Guardians.
 My charge or Pupill, or Ward.
 Looke well to him &c.

[143] *Generall Observations of their Mariage.*

God hath planted in the Hearts of the Wildeſt of the ſonnes of Men, an High and Honourable eſteeme of the Mariage bed, inſomuch that they univerſally ſubmit unto it, and hold the Violation of that Bed, Abominable, and accordingly reape the Fruit thereof in the abundant increaſe of poſterity.

More Particular.

*When Indians beare that ſome there are,
 (That Men the Papiſts call)
 Forbidding Mariage Bed and yet,
 To thouſand VVboredomes fall:*

*They aſke if ſuch doe goe in Cloaths,
 And whether God they know?
 And when they beare they're richly clad,
 know God, yet practice ſo.*

*No ſure they're Beaſts not men (ſay they),
 Mens ſhame and foule diſgrace.
 Or men have mixt with Beaſts and ſo,
 brought forth that monſtrous Race.*

³⁰⁶ *Wadchanum*, he keeps, or takes care of; ſuppos. 3d perſon ſing. *wadchanuk*, when he keeps a keeper. See Eliot's Grammar, 25-27.

³⁰⁷ The preſence of *l* in this word,— as in *Nullógana*, p. 140, and in *Pallé*, p. 138,—ſhows it to belong to ſome other dialect than the Narraganſett.

Concerning their Coyne.

THe *Indians* are ignorant of *Europes* Coyne; yet they have given a name to ours, and call it *Monêash* from the *Englisb* Money.

Their owne is of two sorts; one white, which they make of the stem or stocke of the *Periwinkle*, which they call *Meteaûhock*,³⁰⁹ when all the shell is broken off: and of this sort six of their small Beads (which they make with holes to string the bracelets) are currant with the *Englisb* for a peny.

The second is black, incling to blew, which is made of the shell of a fish which some *Englisb* call *Hens*, *Poquaûhock*, and of this sort three make an *Englisb* peny.

They that live upon the Sea side, generally make of it, and as many make as will.

The *Indians* bring downe all their sorts of Furs, which they take in the Countrey, both to the *Indians* and to the *Englisb* for this *Indian* Money: this Money the *Englisb*, *French* and *Dutch*, trade to the *Indians*, six hundred miles in severall parts (North and South from *New- [145] England*) for their Furres, and whatsoever they stand in need of from them: as Corne, Venifon, &c.

Nquittómpscat.

Neefaúmscat.

Shwaúmscat.

| 1 peny.

| 2 pence.

| 3 pence.

³⁰⁸ For XXIV. So in the first edition.

³⁰⁹ See before, notes 257 and 259.

Yowómfcát.	4 pence.
Napannetaſhaúmfcát.	5 pence.
Quttataſhaúmfcát, or quttauatu.	6 pence.
Enadataſhaúmfcát.	7 pence.
Shwoaſuck taſhaúmfcát.	8 pence.
Paskugittaſhaúmfcát.	9 pence.
Piuckquaúmfcát.	10 pence.
Piuckquaúmfcát nab naqùit.	11 pence.
Piuckquaúmfcát nab nèes, &c	12 pence.
<i>Obſ.</i> This they call <i>Neèn</i> , which is two of their <i>Quttáuatues</i> , or fix pence.	
Piuckquaúmfcát nab naſhoà- ſuck, <i>which they call</i> Shwìn.	18 ^d . 3 quttáuatues.
Neefneecheckaúmfcát nab yòh, or, yowin.	2 ^s . 4 quttáuatues.
Shwinchékaúmfcát, or napannetaſhin.	2 ^s . 6 ^d . 5 quttáuatues.
146] Shwinchékaúmfcát.	2 ^s . 6 ^d . 6 quttáuatues.
Yowinnchékaúmfcát nab neèſe.	3 ^s . 6 ^d . 7 quttáuatues.
Yowinnchékaúmfcát nabnaſhòàſuck.	4 ^s . 8 quttáuatues.
Napannetaſhwincheck- áumfcát nab yòh.	4 ^s . 6 ^d . 9 quttáuatues.
Quttataſhincheck aumfcát, or, <i>more commonly</i> <i>uſed</i> Piúckquat.	5 ^s . 10 quttáuatues, or, 10 fix pences.

Obſ. This *Piúckquat* being fixtie pence, they call *Nquit-tòmpeg*, or *nquitniſbcâuſu*, that is, one fathom, 5 ſhillings.

This one fathom of this their ſtringed money, now worth of the Engliſh but five ſhillings (ſometimes more) ſome few

yeeres since was worth nine, and fometimes ten fhillings *per* Fathome: the fall is occafioned by the fall of Beaver in *England*: the Natives are very impatient, when for Englifh commodities they pay fo much more of their money, and not underftanding the caufe of it; and many fay the Englifh cheat and deceive them, though I have laboured to make them underftand the reafon of it.

147] Neefaumpaúgatuck.

Shwaumpaúgatuck.

Yowompaúgatuck, &c.

Piuckquampaúgatuck

or, Nquit paúfck.

Neefpaufuckquompáúgatuck

Shwepaúfck.

Yowe paúfck, &c.

Nquittemittannau-

ganompáúgatuck.

Neefemittannug, &c.

Tafhinchekompáúgatuck ?

10 fhil. 2 Fathom.

15 fhil. 3 Fathom.

20 fhil. 4 Fathom.

50 fhil. 10 Fathome.

5 lib' 20 Fathome.

30 Fathome.

40 Fathome, *or*, 10.
pounds.³¹⁰

How many Fathom ?

Obf. Their white they call *Wompam* (which fignifies white): their black *Suckáúbock* (*Súcki* fignifying blacke.)³¹¹

³¹⁰ This fhould ftand oppofite to "*Yowe paúfck, &c.*" *Nquittemittánnaugan, &c.*, fignifies, "1000 Fathoms, *or* 250 pounds;" *Neefemittannug, &c.*, 2000 Fathoms.

³¹¹ *Súcki* (here and elfewhere tranflated 'black,') fignifies 'dark-colored.' The *suckáúbock*, 'dark-colored fhell,' was purple or violet; *or*, as Mr. Williams wrote, p. 144, 'black inclining to blue.' Joffelyn (*Voyages*, 142) defcribes Indian money as "of two forts, *blew* beads and white beads;" and Lechford (*Plaine Dealing*, 50) fpeaks of the "*blew* and white wampom."—*Hock* (*bogki, backee*),

was the generic affix for 'fhell;' derived from *bogkw*, 'it covers' (as a garment.) See note 265. When ufed feperately, it has the pronominal prefix of the 3d perfon, *wubbogki* (El.), *wobbogke* (Cot.); pl. *wubbogkiafb*, ufed alfo for 'fcales' of a fifh.—*Metcaúbock* [*mehtauog-hogki*? ear-fhaped fhell?] from which *wompam*, *or* white money, was made, was probably *Pyrula carica* *or* *P. canaliculata*, Say, —which are popularly known as 'periwinkles.' (See before, p. 107².)—*Wompam* was the name of the white beads *collectively*; when ftrung *or* wrought in

Both amongst themselves; as also the English and Dutch, the blacke peny is two pence white; the blacke fathom double, or, two fathom of white.

Wepe kuttassawompatimmin	<i>Change my money.</i>
Suckaúhock, naufake- fachick. ^{311*}	<i>The blacke money.</i>
148] Wauômpeg, or Wau- ompéfichick-mêsim	<i>Give me white.</i>
Affawompatíttea.	<i>Come, let us change.</i>
Anâwuck. ³¹²	<i>Shells.</i>
Meteaúhock.	<i>The Periwinkle.</i>
Suckauanaúfuck.	<i>The blacke shells.</i>
Suckauaskéefaquah. ³¹³	<i>The blacke eyes, or</i>
that part of the shel-fish called	<i>Poquaúhock (or Hens) broken</i>
out neere the eyes, of vvhich they make the blacke.	
Puckwhéganah &	<i>Awle blades.</i>
Múckfuck.	
Papuckakíuash.	<i>Britle, or breaking,</i>
Which they desire to be hardened to a brittle temper.	

Obj. Before ever they had *Awle blades* from *Europe*, they made shift to bore this their shell money with stone, and so fell their trees with stone set in a wooden staff, and used woden *bowes*: which some old & poore women (fearfull to leave the old tradition) use to this day.

Natouwómpitea.	<i>A Coyner or Minter.</i>
Nnanatouwómpiteem.	<i>I cannot coyne.</i>
Natouwómpitees.	<i>Make money or Coyne.</i>

girdles, they constituted *wauômpeg* (*wampompeage*, of Wood and other early writers). For *Súckaúhock*, Wood writes *Mowbackees* [from *mwi*, 'black,' *bogki*, 'shell.']

^{311*} This last word perhaps belongs to

a northern dialect. In the Abnaki, *nésegbek* signifies 'black' and *éssak*, 'shells.'

³¹² *Anna*, a shell. Cott.

³¹³ From *súcki* and *wuskeéfuckquash* (p. 49) 'eyes.'

Puckhùmmìn.

Puckwhègonnaùtick.

149] Tutteputch anâwfin.

they doe on stònes.

Qufsuck-anâsh.³¹⁴

Cauómpsk.

Nickáútick.

Enomphómmin.

Aconáqunnaúog.

Enomphómmin.

Enomphófachick.

Sawhóog & Sawhófachick.³¹⁵

Naumpacóuin.

*To bore through.**The Awle blade sticks.**To smooth them, which**Stone, Stones.**A Whetstone.**A kinde of wooden Pincers
or Vice.**To thread or string.**Thread the Beads.**Thread, or string these.**Strung ones.**Loofe Beads.**To hang about the necke.*

Obs. They hang these strings of money about their necks and wrists; as also upon upon the necks and wrists of their wives and children.

Máchequoce.

| *A Girdle:* Which they make curiously of one two, three, foure, and five inches thicknesse and more, of this money which (sometimes to the value of ten pounds and more) they wear about their middle and as a scarfe about their shoulders and breasts.

³¹⁴ *Qussuk-quanash*, rocks; *bussun*-[*hasun*-] *ash*, stones. El. Grammar, 10. The former word is derived from, or rather is identical with *qussucun* 'heavy,' (p. 44.)—For compound words, the inseparable-generic was *-ómpsk* (rock, or stone), often contracted to *-psk*: *kenómpsq* [*keneb-ómpsk*], a sharp stone; *cauómpsk*, a whetstone, &c. So, *putúckqui-ómpsk*, 'the round rock'—with the locative-affix, *putúckqui-ómpsk-ut*,—a well known bound or land-mark on the west side of Narrow River, half a mile northeast from the

Tower Hill church in South Kingston (Potter's Hist. of Narraganset, p. 304) which gave a name to the 'Pettiquamscut Purchase,' and to the river. (Williams wrote this name, *Puttuckquomscut*, and *Puttaquomscut*.)

³¹⁵ *Seabwóog*, 'they are scattered,' El. From this word, the Dutch traders gave the name of *sewan* or *zeewand* [the participle, *seabwóun*, scattered, loose,] to all shell money: just as the English called all *peag*, or string beads, by the name of the white, *wampom*.

Yea the Princes make rich Caps and Aprons (or small breeches) of these Beads thus curiously strung into many formes and figures: their blacke and white finely mixt together.

150] . Observations *generall of their Coyne.*

The Sonnes of men having lost their Maker, the true and onely Treasure, dig downe to the bowels of the earth for gold and silver; yea, to the botome of the Sea, for shells of fishes, to make up a Treasure, which can never truly enrich nor satisfie.

More particular :

1 *The Indians prize not English gold,
Nor English Indians shell:
Each in his place will passe for ought,
What ere men buy or sell.*

*English and Indians all passe hence,
To an eternall place,
VVhere shells nor finest gold's worth ought,
VVhere nought's worth ought but Grace.*

*This Coyne the Indians know not of,
VVho knowes how soone they may?
The English knowing prize it not,
But sling't like drosse away.*

151]

CHAP. XXV.

Of buying and selling.

ANaqushāog, or
 Anaqushānchick
 Anaqushénto.
 Cúttasha?
 Cowachaūnum?
 Nítasha.
 Nowachaūnum.
 Nquénowhick.
 Nowèkineam.
 Nummachinámmin.
 Máunetash nquénowhick.
 Cúttattaúamísh.
 Nummouanaquísh.
 Mouanaqushāog,
 Mouanaqushānchick.

*Traders.**Let us trade.**Have you this or that?**I have.**I want this, &c.**I like this.**I do not like.**I want many things.**I will buy this of you.**I come to buy.**Chapmen,*

Obs. Amongst themselves they trade their Corne, skins, Coates, Venison, Fish, &c. and sometimes come ten or twenty in a Company to trade amongst the *Englisch*.³¹⁶

They have some who follow onely making of Bowes, some Arrowes, some Dishes, and [152] (the Women make all their earthen Vessells) some follow fishing, some hunt-

³¹⁶ Wood says of the Narragansetts—“the most numerous people in those parts, the most rich also, and the most industrious”—that “they employed most of their time in catching of beavers, otters and musquashes,” which they traded for English commodities, “of which they make a double profit, by selling them to more remote Indians,

who are ignorant at what cheape rates they obtaine them, in comparison of what they make them pay. . . . The *Pequants* call them Women-like men; but being uncapable of a jeare, they rest secure under the conceit of their popularitie, and seeke rather to grow rich by industrie, than famous by deeds of chevalry.” N. E. Prospect, pt. 2. ch. 3.

ing : most on the Sea-side make Money, and store up shells in Summer against Winter whereof to make their money.

Nummautanaqúsh.	<i>I have bought.</i>
Cummanóhamin ?	<i>Have you bought ?</i>
Cummanohamoùsh.	<i>I will buy of you.</i>
Nummautanóhamin.	<i>I have bought.</i>
Kunnauntatáuamish.	<i>I come to buy this.</i>
Comaunekunnúo ?	<i>Have you any Cloth ?</i>
Koppócki.	<i>Thick cloth.</i>
Wassáppi. ³¹⁷	<i>Thin.</i>
Súckinuit.	<i>Black, or blackish.</i>
Míshquinuit.	<i>Red Cloth.</i>
Wómpinuit.	<i>White Cloath.</i>

Obj. They all generally prize a Mantle of *English* or *Dutch* Cloth before their owne wearing of Skins and Fures, because they are warme enough and Lighter.

Wompequayi. | *Cloth inclining to white,*

Which they like not, but desire to have a sad colour without any whitish haire, suiting with their owne naturall Temper, which inclines to sadnesse.

Etouwawâyi. ³¹⁸	<i>Wollie on both sides.</i>
Muckúcki.	<i>Bare without Wool.</i>
153] Chechéke maútsha.	<i>Long lasting.</i>
Qúnnafcat.	<i>Of a great breadth.</i>
Tióckqufcat.	<i>Of little breadth.</i>
Wúff.	<i>The Edge or list.</i>
Aumpácunnish.	<i>Open it.</i>
Tuttepácunnish.	<i>Fold it up.</i>

³¹⁷ *Woffabpe, wassabbe*, El. *Wuffáppi*, Cott. Abn. *wasabé*, 'mince en plat.'—*Râle*.

³¹⁸ *Acetawe, ébtái*, 'on both sides.' El. *Ebtáikénag*, 'two edged,' [both-fides-sharp,] Prov. v. 4.

Mat Weshegganúnno.

Tanógganiſh.³¹⁹

Wúskinuit.

Tanócki, tanóckſha.

Eatawús.

Quttaúnch.

Audtà³²⁰

There is no Wool on it.

Shake it.

New Cloth.

It is torne or rent.

It is Old.

Feele it.

*A paire of ſmall breeches
or Apron.*

*Cuppáimifh*³²¹ I will pay you, which is a word newly made from the *Engliſh* word pay.

Tahenaúatu ?

Tummòck cumméinſh.

Teáuguock Cumméinſh.

Wauwunnégachick.

What price ?

I will pay you Beaver.

I will give you Money.

Very good.

Obſ. They have great difference of their Coyne, as the *Engliſh* have : ſome that will not paſſe without Allowance, and ſome again made of a Counterfeit ſhell, and their very 154] black counterfeited by a Stone and other Materialls :³²² yet I never knew any of them much deceived, for their danger of being deceived (in theſe things of Earth) makes them cautelous.

Cofaúmawem.

Kuttiackquſſaûwaw.

Aquie iackquſſaûme.

Aquie Wuſſaúmowafh.

Taſhin Comméſim ?

You aſke too much.

You are very hard.

Be not ſo hard.

Doe not aſke ſo much.

How much ſhall I give you ?

³¹⁹ Miſprinted, for *Tatágganiſh*. See before, p. 42.—*Tattawwohiaſh* (El.).

³²⁰ *Aûtab* and *aûtabun*, p. 112.²—*Adtabwunaſh* (plu.) ‘breeches.’ Ezek. 44: 18. Comp. *Adtabtau* (El.) ‘it hides, or conceals;’ *adtabtauun*, hidden.

³²¹ *Kuppaumuſh* [*Kup-paum-uſh*]—El. Gram. 28.

³²² Joſſelyn ſays, they work their bead money “out of certain ſhells, ſo cunning that neither *Jew* nor *Devil* can counterfeit.” Voyages, p. 142.

Kutteaûg Comméinsh.
 Nkèke Comméinsh.
 Coanombúquffe
 Kuttassokakómme.

I will give you your Money.
I will give you an Otter.
You have deceived me.

Obf. Who ever deale or trade with them, had need of Wisedome, Patience, and Faithfulnesse in dealing: for they frequently say *Cuppànnawem*, you lye, *Cuttassokakómme*, you deceive me.

Misquésu Kunúkkeke
 Yò aúwuffe Wunnêgin
 Yo chippaúatu.
 Augaufaúatu.
 Muchickaúatu.
 155] Wuttunnaúatu.
 Wunishaúnto.
 Aquie neesquttónck qufsish.
 Wuchè nquíttoompfcát.

Your Otter is reddish.
This is better.
This is of another price.
It is Cheap.
It is deare.
It is worth it.
Let us agree.
Doe not make adoe.
About a penny.

They are marvailous subtle in their Bargaines to save a penny: And very suspitious that *Engliff* men labour to deceive them: Therefore they will beate all markets and try all places, and runne twenty thirty, yea, forty mile, and more, and lodge in the Woods, to save six pence.

Cummámmenash
 nitteaúguash?
 Nonânum.
 Nòonshem.
 Tawhitch nonanuméan?
 macháge nkòckie.
 Tafhaumskuffayi
 commêfim?

*Will you have my Mo-
 ney?*
I cannot.
Why can you not?
I get nothing.
*How many spans will you
 give me?*

Neefaumscuffâyi.	Two spans.
Shwaumscuffâyi.	Three spans.
Yowompfcuffâyi.	Four spans.
Napannetaſhaumſcuffâyi.	Five spans.
Quttataſhaumſkus Sáyi.	Six spans.
156] Endataſhaumſcuffâyi.	Seven spans.
Enadataſhaumſkuttonâyi.	Seven spans.
Cowénaweke.	You are a rich man.

Obf. They will often confeſſe for their owne ends, that the Engliſh are richer and wiſer, and valianter then themſelves; yet it is for their owne ends, and therefore they adde *Nanoûe*, give me this or that, a diſeaſe which they are generally infected with: ſome more ingenuouſ, ſcorne it; but I have often ſeene an *Indian* with great quanties of money about him, beg a Knife of an Engliſh man, who happily hath had never a peny of money.

Akêtaſh-tamòke. ³²³	Tell my money.
Nowánnakefe.	I have miſ-told.
Cofaúmakefe.	You have told too much.
Cunnoónakefe.	You have told too little.
Shoo kekíneafſ.	Looke here.
Wunêtu nitteaûg.	My money is very good.
Mamattííſuôg kutteaûquock.	Your Beads are naught.
Taſhin meſh commaûg?	How much have you given?
Chichêgin.	A Hatchbet.
Anaskunck.	A Howe.
Maumichémanege.	A Needle.
Cuttatuppaúnamum.	Take a meaſure.

³²³ *Ogketam*, he counts, reckons; imperat. ſing. *ogketafſ*, plur. *ogketøk*. El. The ſame verb was employed to trans-

late the Engliſh, 'he reads' or 'ſpells,' i. e. reckons the letters. Joſh. viii. 34; Jer. xxxvi. 6.

157] Tatuppauntúhommin.
 Tatuppauntúock.
 Netátup.
 Kaukakíneamuck.³²⁴
 Pebenochichauquánick.

*To weigh with scales.
 They are aweighing.
 It is all one.*

} *A Looking Glasse.*

Obs. It may be wondred what they do with Glasses, having no beautie but a swarfish colour, and no dresing but nakedness; but pride appears in any colour, and the meanest dresse: and besides generally the women paint their faces with all forts of colours.

Cummanohamógunna.
 Cuppittakúnnemous.
 Cuppittakunnamí.
 Cofaumpeekúnne-
 mun.
 Cummachetannakúnnamous.
 Tawhitch cuppitta-
 kunamiéan?
 Kutchichéginash,
 kaukinne pokéshaas.
 Teáno wáskíshaas.

*They will buy it of you.
 Take your cloth againe.
 Will you serve me so?
 You have tore me off too
 little cloth.*

*I have torn it off for you.
 Why doe you turne it upon
 my hand?*

*Your Hatchets will be
 soone broken.
 Soone gapt.*

³²⁴ See before, p. 122. Williams, in a letter to Gov. Leverett, (before cited, note 235,) repeating a conversation had with Nananawtunu, in 1675, says: "I told him . . . y^t Philip was his *Cawka-kinnamuk*, y^t is Looking Glasse."—Eliot, for 'looking glafs,' has *pepenautchitckunk-quonk*. This is a verbal, signifying 'very deceiving,' or 'very deceptive;' or, as a noun, 'that which very much deceives.' From the same verb comes *pupannouwâ-chick*, 'liars,' p. 128, ante. Experience Mayhew, in a letter to the Hon. Paul

Dudley, written in 1722, (for a copy of which I am indebted to J. Wingate Thornton, Esq., of Boston,) gives, in illustration of 'the Indian way of compounding words,' one of *twenty-two syllables*, which signifies 'Our well-skilled looking-glafs makers:' *Nup-pabk-nub-tô-pe-pe-nau-wut-chut-chub-quô-ka-neb-cha-e-nin-nu-mun-nô-nôk!* One can hardly look at it without stammering. With a language permitting the construction and use of such compounds as this, the 'man of few words' might yet be loquacious.

Natouashóckquittea.
Kuttattaúamish aúke
158] Tounúckquaque?
Wuchè wuttotánick
Plantation.

Nisékineam.
Indiansuck íekineámwock.
Noonapúock naúgum
Cowetompátimmin.
Cummaugakéamish.
Aquie chenawaúfish.

A Smith.

I would buy land of you.

How much?

For a Towne, or,

I have no minde to seeke.^{325}*

The Indians are not willing.

They want roome themselves.

We are friends.

I will give you land.

Be not churlish.

Generall Observation of Trade.

O the infinite wisdom of the most holy wise *God*, who hath so advanced *Europe* above *America*, that there is not a sorry *Howe*, *Hatchet*, *Knife*, nor a rag of cloth in all *America*, but what comes over the dreadfull *Atlantick* Ocean from *Europe*: and yet that *Europe* be not proud, nor *America* discouraged. What treasures are hid in some parts of *America*, and in our *New English* parts, how have foule hands (in smoakie houses) the first handling of those Fures which are after worne upon the hands of *Queens* and heads of *Princes*?

159] More particular :

1 *Oft have I heard these Indians say,*
These English will deceive us.
Of all that's ours, our lands and lives.
In th' end they will bereave us.

^{325*} Misprinted,—for 'to sell.' 'The Indian word, however, signifies merely, 'I refuse;' primarily, 'I dislike.' (*Seke-neam*, 'he refused,' Gen. 37: 35.) In the next following phrase, the same verb occurs, in the plural,—'are not willing.'

2 *So say they, whatsoever they buy,
(Though small) which shewes they're shie
Of strangers, fearefull to be catcht
By fraud, deceit, or lie.*

3 *Indians and English feare deceits,
Yet willing both to be
Deceiv'd and couzen'd of precious soule,
Of heaven, Eternitie.*

C H A P. X X V I.

Of Debts and Trusting.

<p>NOónat. Noonamautuckquàwhe. Kunnoonamaúttuckquaush.</p>	<p> <i>I have not money enough. Trust me. I will owe it you.</i></p>
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160] *Obs.* They are very desirous to come into debt, but then he that trusts them, must sustaine a twofold losse:

First, of his Commoditie.

Secondly, of his custome, as I have found by deare experience: Some are ingenuous, plaine hearted and honest; but the most never pay unlesse a man follow them to their severall abodes, townes and houses, as I my selfe have been forc'd to doe, which hardship and travells it hath yet pleased God to sweeten with some experiences and some little gaine of Language.

<p>Nonamautuckquahéginash. Nosamautackquáwhe. Pitch nippáutowin.</p>	<p> <i>Debts. I am much in debt. I will bring it you.</i></p>
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Chenock naquómbeg
cuppauútiin nitteaúguafh.

Kunnaúmpatous,
Kukkeéskwhuſh.

Keéskwhim teaug méſin.

Tawhitch peyáúyeaſ

Nnádgecom.

Machétu.

161] Nummácheke.

Meſh nummaúchnem.

Nowemacaúnaſh nit-
teaúquafh.

When

Will you bring mee my money?

I will pay you.

Pay me my money.

Why doe you come?

I come for debts.

A poore man.

I am a poore man.

I have been ſicke.

*I was ſaine to ſpend my
money in my ſickeſſe.*

Obſ. This is a common, and as (they think) moſt ſatis-
fying answer, that they have been ſick: for in thoſe times
they give largely to the Priests, who then ſometimes heales
them by conjurations; and alſo they keepe open houſe for
all to come to helpe to pray with them, unto whom alſo
they give money.

Mat noteaúgo.

Kekíneaſh nippétunck.³²⁶

Nummáche maúganafh.

Mat coanaumwaúmis.³²⁷

Kunnampatôwin keénowwin

Machàge wuttamaúntam.

Machàge wuttammauntam-
môock.

Michéme notammaúntam.

162] Mat nickowêmen
naúkocks.

I have no money.

Looke here in my bag.

I have already paid.

You have not kept your word.

You muſt pay it.

He minds it not.

*They take no care about
paying.*

I doe alwayes mind it.

*I cannot ſleep in the night
for it.*

³²⁶ *Pétunck* (*petunk*, El.), a bag,—lit-
erally, 'what it is put into;' from *petau-*
un, he puts it into.

³²⁷ 'Not you-ſpeak-true-to-me.' Com-
pare "*wunnaumwáyeaſ*, if he ſay true."
p. 57, ante.

Generall Observations of their debts.

It is an univerfall Disease of folly in men to desire to enter into not onely necessary, but unnecessary and tormenting debts, contrary to the command of the only wife God: Owe no thing to any man, but that you love each other.

More particular :

*I have heard ingenuous Indians say,
In debts, they could not sleepe.
How far worse are such English then,
Who love in debts to keepe?*

*If debts of pounds cause restlesse nights
In trade with man and man,
How hard's that heart that millions owes
To God, and yet sleepe can?*

*Debts paid, sleep's sweet, sins paid, death's sweet,
Death's night then's turn'd to light;
Who dies in finnes unpaid, that soule
His light's eternall night.*

Of their Hunting, &c.

WE shall not name over the severall sorts of Beasts which we named in the Chapter of Beasts.

The Natives hunt two wayes :

First, when they pursue their game (especially Deere, which is the generall and wonderfull plenteous hunting in the

Country :) I say, they pursue in twentie, fortie, fiftie, yea, two or three hundred in a company, (as I have seene) when they drive the woods before them.

Secondly, They hunt by Traps of severall sorts, to which purpose, after they have obserued in Spring-time and Summer the haunt of the Deere, then about Harvest, they goe ten or twentie together, and sometimes more, and withall (if it be not too farre) wives and children also, where they build up little hunting houses of Barks and Rushes (not comparable to their dwelling houses) and so each man takes his bounds of two, three, or foure miles, where hee sets thirty, forty, or fiftie [164] Traps, and baits his Traps with that food the Deere loves, and once in two dayes he walks his round to view his Traps.

Ntauchaûmen.

Ncáattiteam weeyoùs.³²⁸

Auchaûtuck.³²⁹

Nowetauchaûmen.

Anúmwock.

Kemehétteas.

Pitch nkemehétteem

Pumm púmموke.

Uppetetoûa.

Ntaumpauchaûmen.

Cutchashineánna?

Nneefnneánna.

I goe to hunt.

I long for Venison.

Let us hunt.

I will hunt with you.

Dogs.

Creepe.

I will creepe.

Shoote.

A man shot accidentally.

I come from hunting.

How many have you kild

I have kild two.

³²⁸ *Weeyoùs* (*weyaus*, plu. -*fog*, Eliot), flesh, meat. *Afkeyaus* [*afkun-weyaus*] raw flesh; *Kefittâc weyaus*, 'fodden flesh.' 1 Sam. ii. 15. Related to *ôâas* (Eliot), an animal, a living creature.—Abn. *ôios*, flesh; *skéwakw*, raw flesh.

³²⁹ See '*Auchaûi*, he is gone to hunt

or fowle,' p. 88, ante, — *Adchacu*, he hunts; anim. transit., *adchanau*, he hunts (animals, or live game); El. [Related to *abcbu*, (or perhaps, the same word,) he strives, exerts himself, is diligent: *abcbue*, 'do thy diligence,' exert yourself, 1 Tim. iv. 9.]

Shwinneánna.	<i>Three.</i>
Nyowinneánna.	<i>Four.</i>
Npiuckwinneánna.	<i>Ten, &c.</i>
Nneefneechecttashinneanna.	<i>Twentie.</i>
Nummouashâwmen.	<i>I goe to set Traps.</i>
Apè hana.	<i>Trap, Traps.</i>
Asháppock. ³³⁰	<i>Hempe.</i>
Mafaûnock.	<i>Flaxe.</i>
Wuskapéhana.	<i>New Traps.</i>
Eataúbana.	<i>Old Traps.</i>

Obs. They are very tender of their Traps where they lie, and what comes at them; for [165] they say, the Deere (whom they conceive have a Divine power in them) will soone smell and be gone.

Npunnowwâumen.	<i>I must goe to my Traps.</i>
Nummishkommin.	<i>I have found a Deere;</i>

Which sometimes they doe, taking a Wolfe in the very act of his greedy prey, when sometimes (the Wolfe being greedy of his prey) they kill him: sometimes the Wolfe having glutted himselfe with the one halfe, leaves the other for his next bait; but the glad *Indian* finding of it, prevents him.

And that wee may see how true it is, that all wild creatures, and many tame, prey upon the poore Deere (which are there in a right Embleme of Gods persecuted, that is, hunted people, as I observed in the Chapter of Beasts according to the old and true saying:

Imbelles Damæ quid nisi præda fumus?

³³⁰ See *Afböp*, nets, p. 114, ante, and note 244.—“This land likewise affords some planted by the English.” N. E. Prospect, pt. 1. c. 5. Eliot writes, *Hafsböp*, and (pl.) *hafsböppog* ‘flax.’ Ex. ix. 31.

To harmlesse *Roes* and *Does*,
Both wilde and tame are foes.)

I remember how a poore Deere was long huuted and chafed by a Wolfe, at last (as their manner is) after the chase of ten, it may be more miles running, the stout Wolfe tired out the nimble Deere, and seasing upon it, [166] kill'd: In the act of devouring his prey, two *Englisb* Swine, big with Pig, past by, assaulted the Wolfe, drove him from his prey, and devoured so much of that poore Deere, as they both surfeted and dyed that night.

The Wolfe is an Embleme of a fierce blood-sucking persecutor.

The Swine of a covetous rooting worldling, both make a prey of the Lord Jesus in his poore servants.

Ncummóotamúckqun
natóqus.

| *The Wolfe bath rob'd*
me.

Obs. When a Deere is caught by the leg in the Trap, sometimes there it lies a day together before the Indian come, and so lies a pray to the ranging Wolfe, and other wild Beasts (most commonly the Wolfe) who seaseth upon the Deere and robs the Indian (at his first devouring) of neere halfe his prey, and if the Indian come not the sooner, hee makes a second greedie Meale, and leaves him nothing but the bones, and the torne Deer-skins, especially if he call some of his greedy Companions, to his bloody banquet.

Upon this the *Indian* makes a falling trap called *Sunnúckbig*, (with a great weight of stones) and so sometimes knocks the Wolfe [167] on the head, with a gainfull Revenge, especially if it bee a blacke Wolfe, whose Skins they greatly prize.

Nanówwuffu.³³¹
 Wauwunnockôo.³³²
 Weékan.
 Machemóqut.
 Anit.³³³
 Poquéfu
 Poskátuck & Missêsu.
 Kuttíomp.
 Paucottaúwat.
 Wawúnnes.
 Qunnêke.
 Aunàn.³³⁴
 Moósqin.
 Yo asipaúgon
 Noónatch, or, attuck ntiyu,
 Mishánneke ntiyu.
 Paukunnawaw³³⁵ ntío.
 Wufféke.
 Apome-ichàsh.
 Uppèke-quòck.
 Wuskàn.
 Wuffúckqun
 168] Awemanittin.
 Pauhinùmmin.
 Pauhinummauatíttea.

It is leane.
It is fat.
It is sweet.
It smells ill.
It is putrified.
Halfe a Deere.
A whole Deere.

A Buck.
A young Buck.
A Doe.
A Fawne.

Thus thick of fat.
I hunt Venison.
I hunt a Squirrill.
I hunt a Beare, &c.
The hinder part of the Deere.
Thigh: Thighes.
Shoulder, shoulders:
A bone.
A taile.
Their Rutting time.
To divide.
Let us divide.

This they doe when a Controverfie falls out, whose the Deere should bee.

³³¹ *Ónouwuffu*, El. *ónauwufiſe*, Cott.

³³² *Wunnogkquieu*, *wunnogkø*, Eliot. [*Wunne-bogkø*, well-bodied, well covered; in good condition.]

³³³ See *Aníttaſe*, 'rotten corn,' p. 103, and note 227.

³³⁴ *Aunàn* 'a Doe.' 'A Fawne' ſhould have been printed oppoſite to *Moóſquin* [*Moóſquin*] in the next line. See before, p. 106.

³³⁵ See p. 80, and note 196.

Caúskabunck,

| *The Deere skin.*

Obs. *Púmpom*: a tribute Skin when a Deere (hunted by the Indians, or Wolves) is kild in the water. This skin is carried to the *Sachim* or Prince, within whose territory the Deere was slaine.³³⁶

Ntaumpowwushaúmen.

| *I come from hunting.*

Generall Observation of their hunting.

There is a blessing upon endeavour, even to the wildest *Indians*; the sluggard rosts not that which he tooke in hunting, but the substance of the diligent (either in earthly or heavenly affaires) is precious, *Prov.* 25.

More particular:

*Great pains in hunting th' Indians Wild,
And eke the English tame;
Both take, in woods and forrests thicke,
To get their precious game.*

169]

*Pleasure and Profit, Honour false,
(The word's great Trinitie)
Drive all men through all wayes, all, times,
All weathers, wet and drie.*

*Pleasure and Profits Honour, sweet,
Eternall, sure and true,
Laid up in God, with equall paines;
Who seekes, who doth pursue?*

³³⁶ "Every Sachim knoweth how far the bounds and limits of his own country extendeth; and that is his own proper inheritance. . . . In this circuit whofoever hunteth, if they kill any venison, bring him his fee; which is the fore parts of the same, if it be killed on the land, but if in the water, then the skin

thereof." Good Newes from N. E. (Young's Chron. of Plymouth, 361-2). See Winthrop's Journal, ii. 120-21. [*Púmpom* is derived from *pummunum*, he offers, or devotes; *Paumpaumun* (or *pumpumun*, a frequentative,) he habitually, or by custom, offers it. Comp. *up-paupaumen-ub*, Numb. viii. 21.]

CHAP. XXVIII.

Of their Gaming, &c.

THeir *Games*, (like the *Engliſh*) are of two forts; private and publike:

Private, and ſometimes publike; A *Game* like unto the *Engliſh* Cards; yet, in ſtead of Cards they play with ſtrong *Ruſhes*.³³⁷

Secondly, they have a kinde of Dice which are Plumb ſtones painted, which they caſt in a Tray, with a mighty noyſe and ſweating:³³⁸ Their publique *Games* are ſolemnized with the meeting of hundreds; ſometimes thouſands, and conſiſt of many vanities, none of which I durſt ever be preſent at, that I might [170] not countenance and partake of their folly, after I once ſaw the evill of them.

Ahânu.³³⁹

| *Hee laughs.*

³³⁷ "They have two ſorts of games, one called *Puim*, the other *Hubbub*, not much unlike Cards and Dice, being no other than Lotteric. *Puim* is 50. or 60. ſmall Bents of a foote long which they divide to the number of their gameſters, ſhuffing them firſt betweene the palmes of their hands; he that hath more than his fellow is ſo much the forwarder in his game: many other ſtrange whimſeyes be in this game; which would be too long to commit to paper." Wood, pt. 2. ch. 14.

³³⁸ "*Hubbub* is five ſmall Bones in a ſmall ſmooth Tray, the bones bee like a Die, but ſomething flatter, blacke on the one ſide and white on the other, which they place on the ground, againſt which violently thumping the platter, the bones mount changing colours with the windy

whiſking of their hands too and fro; which aſtion in that ſport they much uſe, ſmiting themſelves on the breaſt, and thighs, crying out, *Hub, Hub, Hub*; they may be heard play at this game a quarter of a mile off. The bones being all blacke or white, make a double game; if three be of a colour and two of another, then they aſſoard but a ſingle game; four of a colour and one differing is nothing." &c. Ibid. The Abnakis (Râle, s. v. *Jouer*,) played this game with *eight* ſuch dice or counters. When the black and white turned up 4 and 4, or 5 and 3, the player made no count; for 6 and 2, he counted four, for 7 and 1, ten, and when all eight were of one color, twenty.

³³⁹ *Abbânu*, Cott. *Habanu* and *Abanu*, Eliot.

Tawhitchahánean.
 Ahánuock.
 Nippauochâumen.
 Pauochaûog.
 Pauochaútowwin.
 Akéfuog.³⁴¹

Pífsinnéganash.³⁴²
 Ntakéfemin.

ting; for their play is a kind of Arithmatick.

Why doe you laugh?

They are merry.

We are dancing.

They are playing or dancing.

A Bable³⁴⁰ to play with.

*They are at Cards, or
 telling of Rusbes.*

Their playing Rusbes.

I am a telling, or coun-

Obf. The chiefe Gamesters amongst them much desire to make their Gods side with them in their Games (as our *English* Gamesters so farre also acknowledge God) therefore I have seene them keepe as a precious stone a piece of Thunderbolt,³⁴³ which is like unto a Chrystall, which they dig out of the ground under some tree, Thunder-smitten, and from this stone they have an opinon of successe, and I have not heard any of these prove losers, which I conceive may be *Satans* policie, and Gods holy Justice to harden them for their not rising higher from the Thunderbolt, to the God that send or shoots it.

171] Ntaquie akéfamen.

| *I will leave play.*

³⁴⁰ Bauble.

³⁴¹ Literally, 'They are counting.' *Ogkésuog*, El. The anim. intrans. form of the verb *ogketam*, he counts, or reckons. See note 323.

³⁴² Abnaki, *Peñfeniganar*, 'les pailles, avec quoi on joue.' Râle.

³⁴³ "That which is by some called the rain-stone or thunder-bolt, was by the antients termed *Ceraunia*. . . Bootius (*de Gemmis*, lib. 2, cap. 261) reports that many persons worthy of credit, af-

firmed that when houses or trees had been broken with the thunder, they did by digging find such stones in the places where the stroke was given. Nevertheless, that fulminous stones or thunderbolts do always descend out of the clouds, when such breaches are made by the lightning, is (as I said) a vulgar error." I. Mather's Remark. Providences (repr. 1856) p. 81.—Fossil belemnites and all aërolites were formerly called thunderbolts or thunder-stones, in England.

Nchikofsimunnafh.
Wunnaugonhómmin³⁴⁴
Afaúanafh.³⁴⁵

*I will burne my Rufbes.
To play at dice in their Tray.
The painted Plumbstones
which they throw.
A Playing Arbour.*

Puttuckquapúonck.³⁴⁶

Obf. This Arbour or Play-houſe is made of long poles ſet in the earth, foure ſquare, ſixteen or twentie foot high, on which they hang great ſtore of their ſtringed money, have great ſtakings, towne againſt towne, and two choſen out of the reſt by courſe to play the *Game* at this kinde of Dice in the miſt of all their Abettors, with great ſhouting and ſolemnity: beſide, they have great meetings of foot-ball playing,³⁴⁷ onely in Summer, towne againſt towne, upon ſome broad ſandy ſhoare, free from ſtones, or upon ſome ſoft heathie plot becauſe of their naked feet, at which they have great ſtakings, but ſeldome quarrell.³⁴⁸

Pafuckquakohowaúog
Cukkúmmote wèpe.

*They meet to foot-ball.
You ſteale; As I have often*

told them in their gamings, and in their great loſings (when they have ſtaked and loſt their money, clothes, houſe, corne, and themſelves, (if ſingle perſons) they will confeſſe it 172] being weary of their lives, and ready to make away themſelves, like many an *Engliſh* man: an Embleme of the horreur of conſcience, which all poore ſinners walk in at laſt,

³⁴⁴ *Wunnâug*, a tray, p. 36.

³⁴⁵ Abnaki, *Eſſéwân-ar*, ‘les grains du jeu du plat.’ Râle.

³⁴⁶ *Puttúckqui-appuonk*, ‘round fitting-place;’ although ſometimes built ‘four ſquare,’ as appears from the text.

³⁴⁷ “Their Goales be a mile long placed on the ſands which are as even as a board; their ball is no bigger than a hand-ball, which ſometimes they mount

in the Aire with their naked feete, ſometimes it is ſwayed by the multitude;” &c.—Wood’s *N. E. Proſpect*, l. c.

³⁴⁸ “When they play country againſt country, there are rich Goales, all be-hung with Wampompeage, Mowhackies, Beaver ſkins, and blacke Otter ſkinnes. It would exceede the beleefe of many to relate the worth of one Goale, wherefore it ſhall be nameleſs.” *Ibid.*

when they see what wofull games they have played in their life, and now find themselves eternall Beggars.

Keefaquinnamun,³⁴⁹ Another kinde of solemne publike meeting, wherein they lie under the trees, in a kinde of Religious observation, and have a mixture of Devotions and sports: But their chiefest Idoll of all for sport and game, is (if their land be at peace) toward Harveft, when they set up a long house called *Qunnekamuck*. Which signifies *Long house*, sometimes an hundred, somtimes two hundred foot long upon a plaine neer the Court (which they call *Kitteickaũick*) where many thousands, men and women meet, where he that goes in danceth in the sight of all the rest; and is prepared with money, coats, small breeches, knives, or what hee is able to reach to, and gives these things away to the poore, who yet must particularly beg and say, *Cowequetũmous*, that is, *I beseech you*: which word (although there is not one common beggar amongst them) yet they will often use when their richest amongst them would fain obtain ought by gift.

173] *Generall Observations of their Sports.*

This life is a short minute, eternitie followes. On the improvement or dis-improvement of this short minute, depends a joyfull or dreadfull eternity; yet (which I tremble to thinke of) how cheape is this invaluable Jewell, and how many vaine inventions and foolish pastimes have the sonnes of men in all parts of the world found out, to passe time & post over this short minute of life, untill like some pleasant River they have past into *mare mortuum*, the dead sea of eternall lamentation.

³⁴⁹ Perhaps from *Kesuckquand*, the Sun God,—or from *kesukun* (which has the same radical,) 'it is ripe, mature.'—"A kind of solemn public meeting," with a "mixture of devotions and sports," is not a bad description of an old-fashioned 'Thanksgiving Day,'—though not of the strictest puritan type.

More particular :

- 1 *Our English Gamesters scorne to stake
Their clothes as Indians do,
Nor yet themselves, alas, yet both
Stake soules and lose them to.*
- 2 *O fearfull Games! the diuill stakes
But Strawes and Toyes and Trash,
(For what is All, compar'd with Christ,
But *Dogs meat and Swines wash? *Phil. 3. 8.
σκόβαλα*
- 3 *Man stakes his Iewell-darling soule,
(His owne most wretched foe)
174] Ventures, and loseth all in sport
At one most dreadfull throw.*

CHAP. XXIX.

Of their Warre, &c.

<p>A Quène. Nanouéshin, & Awêpu. Chépewefs, & Mishittâshin.³⁵⁰ speake, and which <i>England</i> now woefully feeles, untill the Lord Iesus chide the winds, and rebuke the raging seas.</p>	<p><i>Peace.</i> <i>A peaceable calme; for</i> <i>Awêpu</i> signifies a calme. <i>A Northern storme of</i> <i>warre, as they wittily</i></p>
<p>Nummusquântum. Tawhitch musquawnaméan ?</p>	<p><i>I am angry.</i> <i>Why are you angry?</i></p>

³⁵⁰ *Chepewéssin*, the North-east wind blows: *Mishittâshin*, a storm, pp. 85, 87.

Aquie musquántash.
Chachépiffu, nishquétu.
Tawhitch chachepiféttit
nishquéhettit ?

175] Cummusquáunamuck.

Matwaûog.³⁵¹

Matwaûonck.

Cnmusqnaúnamish

Cummusquawnamè ?

Miskifaûwaw.

Tawhitch niskúekean ?

Ntatakómmuckqun ewò.

Nummokókunitch

Ncheckéquunnitch.

Mecaútea.

Mecaúntítea.

Mecaúnteafs.

Wepè cummécautch.

Júhettítea.³⁵²

Júhetteke.

incouragement which they use when they animate each other in warre; for they use their tongues in stead of drummes and trumpets.

Awaùn necáwni aum
píafha ?

Nippakétatunck.

Nummeshannántam

Nummayaóntam.

Cease from anger.

Fierce.

} *Why are they fierce ?*

He is angry with you.

Souldiers.

A Battle.

I am angry with you.

Are you angry with me ?

A quarrelsome fellow.

Why are you so fierce ?

He strucke mee.

I am robbed.

A fighter.

Let us fight.

Fight with him.

You are a quarreller.

Let us fight.

Fight, Which is the word of

Who drew the first bow,
or shot the first shot ?

He shot first at me.

I scorne, or take it indignation.

³⁵¹ *Matwau*, an enemy; pl. *matwaog*, Eliot.

³⁵² *Ayeuwebteau*, and *ayeubteau*, he

makes war, engages in battle; verbal, *ayeuteáen*, a warrior, one who fights.

Él.—Moh. *oioetet*, he who fights. Edw.

176] *Obf.* This is a common word, not only in warre, but in peace also (their spirits in naked bodies being as high and proud as men more gallant) from which sparkes of the lusts of pride and passion, begin the flame of their warres.

Whauwháutowaw ánowat.

Wopwawnónckquat.

Amaúmuwaw paúdfa.

Keénomp }
Múckquomp } paúog.³⁵³

Negonshâchick.

Kuttówonck.

Popowuttáhig.

There is an Alarum.

An bubbub.

A Messenger is come.

*Captaines, or Valiant
men.*

Leaders.

A Trumpet.

A Drumme.

Obf. Not that they have such of their owne making; yet such they have from the *French*: and I have knowne a good Drumme made amongst them in imitation of the *English*.

Quaquawtatatteâug

Machíppog

Caúquat -tash.³⁵⁴

Onúttug.

Péskcunck.³⁵⁵

Saúpuck.

Mátit.

Méchimu.

177] Mechimúash.

Shóttash.

They traine.

A Quiver.

Arrow, Arrowes.

An halfe Moone in war.

A Gunne.

Powder.

Vnloden.

Loden.

Lode it.

Shot; A made word from us,

³⁵³ *Kenompāe*, valiantly, Cott.—Abn. *ne-kināñbai*, I am brave.—*Mugwomp*, a captain. El.

³⁵⁴ *Kôubkquodt*, *kôunkquodt*, an arrow, Eliot. [Literally, ‘That which is sharp at the end.’] “Some whereof were

headed with brasse, others with Harts horne, and others with Eagles claws.” Mourt’s Relation (Dexter’s ed.) 55, and note 190.

³⁵⁵ See before, p. 84, and note 174.

though their Gunnes they have from the *French*,³⁵⁶ and often fell many a score to the *English*, when they are a little out of frame or Kelter.

Pummenúmmin teáuquash.

Askwhitteafs.

Askwhitteâchick.

Askwhitteaug.

To contribute to the warres.

Keep watch.

The Guard.

Is is the Guard.

Obs. I once travelled (in a place conceived dangerous) with a great Prince,³⁵⁷ and his Queene and Children in company, with a Guard of neere two hundred, twentie, or thirtie fires were made every night for the Guard (the Prince and Queene in the midft) and Sentinells by course, as exact as in *Europe*; and when we travelled through a place where ambushes were suspected to lie, a speciall Guard, like unto a Life-guard, compassed (some neerer, some farther of) the King and Queen, my selfe and some *English* with me.

They are very copious and patheticall in Orations to the people, to kindle a flame of wrath, Valour or revenge from all the Common places which Commanders use to insist on.

178] Wefáffu

Cowéfaff.

Tawhitch wefáfean?

Manowéfaff.

Kukkúshickquock.

Nofemitteúncquock

Onamatta cowaûta

Núckqufha.

Afraid.

Are you afraid?

Why feare you?

I feare none.

They feare you.

They fly from us.

Let us pursue.

I feare him.

³⁵⁶ "They [the eastern Indians] have guns which they dayly trade for with the *French*, (who will sell his eyes, as

they say, for beaver)." Wood, N. E. Prospect, ii. c. 2.—See, before, p. 90.

³⁵⁷ See page 75, ante, and note 151.

Wuffémo-wock.	<i>He flies, they flie.</i>
Npauchíppowem	<i>I flie for succour.</i>
Keesaūname.	<i>Save me.</i>
Npúmmuck.	<i>I am shot.</i>
Chenawaūsu.	<i>Churlish.</i>
Waumaūsu.	<i>Loving.</i>
Tawhitch chenawaūsean?	<i>Why are you churlish?</i>
Aumánsk.	<i>A Fort.</i>
Waukaunòfint. ³⁵⁸	
Cupshitteaūg.	<i>They lie in the way.</i>
Aumanskítteaūg.	<i>They fortifie.</i>
Kekaúmawaw.	<i>A scorner or mocker.</i>
Nkekaūmuck ewò.	<i>He scornes me.</i>
Aquè kekaúmowash.	<i>Doe not scorne.</i>

Obj. This mocking (between their great ones) is a great kindling of Warres amongst them: yet I have known some of their chiefest say, what should I hazard the lives of my 179] precious Subjects, them and theirs to kindle a Fire, which no man knowes how farre, and how long it will burne, for the barking of a Dog?

Sékinéam.	<i>I have no mind to it.</i>
Nissékineug.	<i>He likes not me.</i>
Nummánneug.	<i>He bates me.</i>
Sekinneauhettùock.	
Maninnewauhettùock.	<i>They hate each other.</i>
Nowetompátimmin	<i>We are Friends.</i>
Wetompâchick.	<i>Friends.</i>

³⁵⁸ *Manšk*, a fort, place of refuge, strong-hold; *Wonkonóus*, a fort. Eliot. *Wòkoonóos*, 'a fence,' Cotton.—“These Forts, some be fortie or fiftie foote square, erected of young timber trees, ten or twelve foote high, rammed into the

ground, with undermining within, the earth being cast up for their shelter against the dischargements of their enemies; having loope-holes,” &c. N. E. Prospect, pt. 2, ch. 13.—Abnaki, *wa'kañ-ræzen*, 'fort, fortress.'

Nowepinnátimin.
Nowepinnâchick.

Nowechufettímin.
Néchufe ewò
Wechufittûock.
Nwéche kokkêwem.
Chickaûta wêtu.

*We joyne together.
My Companions in War.
or Associats.
We are Confederates.
This is my Associate.
They joyne together.
I will be mad with him.
An house fired.*

Once lodging in an Indian house full of people, the whole Company (Women especially) cryed out in apprehension that the Enemy had fired the House, being about midnight: The house was fired but not by an Enemy: the men ran up on the house top, and with their naked hands beat out the Fire: One scorcht his leg, and suddenly after they [180] came into the house againe, undauntedly cut his leg with a knife to let out the burnt blood.

Yo ánowhone
Mífsínnege
Nummífsinnàm ewo.
Waskeiûhettímmitch.
Nickqueintónckquock
Nickqueintouôog.
Nippauquanaûog.
Queintauatittea.
Kunnauntatáuhuckqun.
Paúquana.
Pequûtôog paúquanan.³⁶⁰

*There I am wounded.
A Captaine.³⁵⁹
This is my Captive.
At beginning of the fight.
They come against us.
I will make Warre upon them.
I will destroy them.
Let us goe against them.
He comes to kill you.
There is a slaughter.
The Peguts are slaine.*

³⁵⁹ A printer's error; for 'Captive.' *Missin*, a captive; *missinó*, he is made captive (Gen. xiv. 14); *num-missinecu*, I am a captive (Is. xlix. 21); El.—See the Address 'To the Reader,' note 4.

³⁶⁰ 'The Destroyers are destroyed.'

(See note 10.) Eliot gives, as the anim. trans. verb, *pagwanau*, *pagúanau*, he destroys, (him or them); intrans. *pagwoob-teau*, *paguateau*, he destroys, is a destroyer,—in the plural, *paguatôog*, they destroy. From this verb are derived the various

Awaun Wuttúnnene?
Tashittáwho?
Neestáwho.
Piuckqunneánna.

Who have the Victory.
How many are slaine?
Two are slaine?
Ten are slaine.

Obs. Their Warres are farre lesse bloody, and devouring then the cruell Warres of *Europe*; and seldome twenty slaine in a pitch field: partly becaufe when they fight in a wood every Tree is a Bucklar.

When they fight in a plaine, they fight [181] with leaping and dancing, that seldome an Arrow hits, and when a man is wounded, unlesse he that shot followes upon the wounded, they soone retire and save the wounded: and yet having no Swords, nor Guns, all that are slaine are commonly slain with great Valour and Courage: for the Conquerour ventures into the thickest, and brings away the Head of his Enemy.

Niss-níffoke.
Kúnnish
Kunnishickqun ewò.
Kunnishickquock.
Siuckisfúog.³⁶¹
Nickummissúog.
Nnickummaunamaúog.
Neene núppamen.
Cowaúnckamish.
Kunnanaumpasúmmish.

Kill kill.
I will kill you.
He will kill you.
They will kill you.
They are stout men.
They are Weake.
I shall easily vanquish them.
I am dying?
Quarter, quarter.
Mercy, Mercy.

forms of the name which was given by other tribes, and by the English, to the conquerors of eastern Connecticut,—a branch of the *Mubbekanceew* or Mohican nation: *Pequants* (Wood); *Pekoath* and *Pekods* (Winth.); *Pequits*, *Pequittôog* (R. W.), &c.

³⁶¹ Comp. *Siúckat*, 'hard' [i. e. difficult], p. 41, ante. *Siogkuffu*, is the anim. adjective from *siógke* (Él.) hard: *kus-siogkus*, thou art a hard man, (Matt. xxv. 24). The root is *sée*, *séog*, 'sour,'—or rather, unpleasant to the taste. Comp. A. S. *forge*; English, *fore*, *forrow*, *sour*.

Kekuttokaũnta,	<i>Let us parley.</i>
Aquétuck.	<i>Let us cease Armes.</i>
Wunnifhaũnta.	<i>Let us agree.</i>
Cowammáunfh.	<i>I love you.</i>
Wunnêtu ntá.	<i>My heart is true.</i>
Tuppaũntaſh.	<i>Consider what I ſay.</i>
182] Tuppaũntamoke.	<i>Doe you all conſider.</i>
Cummequaũnum	<i>Remember your Wives,</i>
cummítamufuf-	<i>and Children.</i>
fũck ká cummuckiaũg.	
Eatch kèen anawâyeen.	<i>Let all be as you ſay.</i>
Cowawwunnaũwem.	<i>You ſpeake truly.</i>
Cowauõntam.	<i>You are a wiſe man.</i>
Wetompáitea.	<i>Let us make Friends.</i>

Generall Obſervations of their Warres.

How dreadfull and yet how righteous is it with the moſt righteous Judge of the whole World, that all the generations of Men being turn'd Enemies againſt, and fighting againſt Him who gives them breath and Being, and all things, (whom yet they cannot reach) ſhould ſtab, kill, burne, murder and devoure each other?

More Particular.

The Indians count of Men as Dogs,

1 *It is no Wonder then:*

They teare out one anothers throats!

But now that Engliſh Men,

183] *That boaſt themſelves Gods Children, and*

2 *Members of Chriſt to be,*)

That they ſhould thus break out in flames.

Sure 'tis a Myſtery!

Rev. } *The second sea'd Mystery or red Horſe,*
 2. 6. } *Whoſe Rider bath power and will,*
 } *To take away Peace from Earthly Men,*
 } *They muſt Each other kill.*

CHAP. XXX.

Of their paintings.

1. **T**hey paint their Garments, &c.
2. The men paint their Faces in Warre.
3. Both Men and Women for pride, &c.

Wómpí

Mówi-fúcki.³⁶²

Mſqùí.

Wefáüí.³⁶³

Askáski.³⁶⁴

Pefháüí.³⁶⁵

White.

Black.

Red.

Yellow.

Greene.

Blew, &c.

Obſ. *Wunnàm*³⁶⁶ their red painting which they [184] moſt delight in, and is both the Barke of the Pine, as alſo a red Earth.

³⁶² *Mwi* (El.) black; *fúcki*, dark-colored, inclining to black.

³⁶³ *Weefóe*, yellow; *Weefwe*, the gall; *Wefógkon*, bitter. Eliot. So, Abn. *wíſi*, 'fiel'; *wíſáñwígw*, he is painted yellow. Comp. Greek *χολή* and *χλόη*; A. Sax. *gealla*, gall; *gealewe*, yellow.

³⁶⁴ It is not eaſy to determine whether the primary meaning of the radical, *aſk*, or *aſbq*, was *green*, or *immature*. It is found in *aſkún*, 'it is raw,' (*aſke*, El.); *aſq*, *aſbq*, and *aſquam*, 'not yet;' *maſkebt* [*m'aſk-cbt*, the green,] 'grafs;' *aſkunkq*

(El.) 'a green tree;' &c.; and perhaps in *wufke*, *wefke* (Abnaki *aſki*), 'young,' and alſo 'new.'

³⁶⁵ Comp. *peſháüíuafſb*, 'violet leaves' (p. 99). Eliot has *péſbau*, more often with pronominal prefix, *up-péſbau*, 'a flower;' pl. *peſbaónaſb*; and the verb, *peſbauau*, 'it bloſſoms;' but, *wóní*, (in comp. words *wónó*,) for 'blue.'—Abnaki, *petidians*, 'violette;' *titiens*, 'bleue.'

³⁶⁶ Abn. *warámann*, 'vermillon, peinture.' Râle.—From *wunne*, *wne*, good, handſome.

Mishquock.

Métewis.³⁶⁷| *Red Earth.*| *Black Earth.*

From this *Métewis* is an Indian Towne a day and a halfe Journey, or lesse (*West*, from the *Massachusetts*) called *Mete-wêmesick*.

Wússuckhòsu.

| *A painted Coat.*

Of this and *Wússuckwbeke*, (the English Letters, which comes neereſt to their painting I ſpake before in the Chapter of their clothing.

Aunakéſu.³⁶⁸

Aunakéuck.

Tawhitch aunakéan?

Chéskhoſh.

Cummachiteoûwunaſh
kuſkeéſuckquaſh.

Mat pitch cowáhick

Manit keeſiteónckqu.³⁶⁹| *He is painted.*| *They are painted.*| *Why doe you paint your ſelfe?*| *Wipe off.*| *You ſpoile your Face.*| *The God that made you
will not know you.*

Generall Observations of their paintings.

It hath been the fooliſh Cuſtome of all barbarous Nations to paint and figure their Faces and Bodies (as it hath been to our ſhame and griefe. wee may remember it of ſome of our Fore-Fathers in this Nation.) How much then are we bound to our moſt holy Maker [185] for ſo much knowledge of himſelfe revealed in ſo much Civility and Piety?

³⁶⁷ Plumbago, or graphite, probably. In 1644, John Winthrop, Jun., had a grant of "the hill at Tantouſq, about 60 miles weſtward [from Boſton], in which the black-leade is." Maſſ. Col. Rec. ii. 82. This was in or near Sturbridge,—now 'the moſt important locality' of that mineral, in Maſſachuſetts. Hitch-

cock's Geol. Report, 220.

³⁶⁸ *Anogku*, he paints, [pl. *anogkuog*, they paint.] El. *Aunakéſu* [*anogkeſu*] has the form of the adjec. animate.

³⁶⁹ Eliot would have written: *Mat piſb kawwabik manit [nob] kezvikquean*, 'not will he-know-thee God [who] he-maketh-thee.'

and how ſhould we alſo long and endeavor that *América* may partake of our mercy :

More particular :

*Truth is a Native, naked Beauty ; but
Lying Inventions are but Indian Paints,
2 Diſſembling hearts their Beautie's but a Lye,
Truth is the proper Beauty of Gods Saints.*
*Fowle are the Indians Haire and painted Faces,
2 More foule ſuch Haire, ſuch Face in Iſrael.*
*England ſo calls her ſelfe, yet there's
Abſoloms foule Haire and Face of Jeſabell.*
*Paints will not bide Chriſts waſhing Flames of fire,
Fained Inventions will not bide ſuch ſtormes :*
*O that we may prevent him, that betimes,
Repentance Teares may waſh of all ſuch Formes.*

CHAP. XXXI.

Of Sickneſſe.

NUmmaüchnem³⁷⁰
Mauchinaüi.
186] Yo Wuttunsín
Achie nummauchnem.
Nóonſhem metesímmin.
Mach ge³⁷¹ nummetesímmin.

I am ſick.
He is ſick.
He keeps his Bed.
I am very ſick.
I cannot eate.
I eate nothing.

³⁷⁰ Nummaüchenem, p. 9, ante. Num-
mabchinam, El. (1 Sam. xxx. 13:) 3d
pers. mabchinau, 'he is ſick.' This verb
is nearly related to mabtsbeau (El.) 'it
waſtes away,' 'fails,' 'decays:' and the

ſame radical may be found in maübetan,
'ebb' tide (p. 112), and in mábtsuwaé,
'conſuming' (ſaid of fire), Deut. iv. 24.
³⁷¹ Macháge. The á eſcaped the preſs,
in the firſt edition.

Tocketuſinámmin ?	<i>What think you ?</i>
Pitch nkéeteem ?	<i>Shall I recover ?</i>
Niskéefaquſh máuchinaaſh.	<i>My eyes faile me.</i>
Ncuſſáwóntapam.	<i>My head akes.</i>
Npummaúmpiteunck ³⁷²	<i>My Teeth ake.</i>
Nchéfammáttam,	<i>I am in paine.</i>
Nchéfammam.	

Obſ. In theſe caſes their Miſery appears, that they have not (but what ſometimes they get from the *Engliſh*) a Raiſin or currant or any phyſick, Fruit or ſpice, or any Comfort more than their Corne and Water, &c. In which bleeding caſe wanting all Meanes of recovery, or preſent refreshing I have been conſtrained to, and beyond my power to refresh them, and I beleeve to ſave many of them from Death, who I am confident periſh many Millions of them (in that mighty continent) for want of Meanes.

Nupaqqóntup	<i>Bind my head.</i>
Kúſpiſſem.	
187] Wauaûpuníſh	<i>Lift up my head.</i>
Nippaquóntup.	
Nchéfamam nséte.	<i>My Foot is ſore.</i>
Machàge nickowêmen	<i>I ſleep not.</i>
Nnanótíſſu.	<i>I have a Feaver.³⁷³</i>
Wàme kuſſópita nohòck.	<i>My body burnes.</i>
Ntátupe nòte or chickot.	<i>I am all on Fire.</i>

³⁷² See page 50. Mr. Williams has prefixed the pronoun to a *ſubſtantive*, and not to the correſponding verb. The literal rendering therefore is ‘My tooth-ache;’ not, ‘My teeth ache.’

³⁷³ *An intermittent fever.* The verb denotes that which ‘continues to return at

the ſame hour.’ Abn. *nawatſeſa*, he has quartan or tertian fever, or that which always comes at the ſame hour. Râle. Abnaki, *keſiſa*, *keſidê*, he has a fever; literally, he is hot, feveriſh,—whether the malady be idiopathic or ſymptomatic.

Yo ntéatchin.	<i>I ſhake for Cold.</i>
Ntátuppe wunnêpog.	<i>I ſhake as a leafe.</i>
Puttuckhúmma.	<i>Cover me.</i>
Paútous nototâmmín.	<i>Reach me the drinke.</i>

Obſ. Which is onely in all their extremities, a little boild water, without the addition of crum or drop of other comfort: O *Englands* mercies, &c.

Tahaspunâyi ?	<i>What ayles he ?</i>
Tocketúspanem ?	<i>What aile you ?</i>
Tocketuspunnaúmaqûn ?	<i>What hurt bath he done to you ?</i>
Chaffaqûnſin ?	<i>How long bath he been ſick ?</i>
Nnanowwêteem.	<i>I am going to viſit.</i>

Obſ. This is all their refreshing, the Viſit [188] of Friends, and Neighbours, a poore empty viſit and preſence, and yet indeed this is very ſolemne, unleſſe it be in infectious diſeaſes, and then all forſake them and flie, that I have often ſeene a poore Houſe left alone in the wild Woods, all being fled, the living not able to bury the dead: ſo terrible is the apprehenſion of an infectious diſeaſe, that not only perſons, but the Houſes and the whole Towne takes flight.³⁷⁴

Nummòckqueſe.	<i>I have a ſwelling.</i>
Mockquêſui	<i>He is ſwelled.</i>
Wàmè wuhòck-	<i>All his body is ſwelled.</i>
Mockquêſui,	
Mamaskiſhaûi.	<i>He bath the Pox.</i>
Mamaskiſhaûonck.	<i>The Pox.</i>
Mamaskiſhaûmitch.	<i>The laſt pox.³⁷⁵</i>

³⁷⁴ Bradford's account of the ravages made by ſmall-pox in the Indian villages on Conneſticut river, and of the miſerable condition of the ſufferers, is horribly

graphic. Hiſt. of Plymouth, pp. 325, 326. See alſo, Winthrop, i. 119, 120.

³⁷⁵ That is, when it laſt prevailed; in the winter of 1633-34.

Wefauashaûi.³⁷⁶

Wefauashaûonck.

Wefauashaûmitch.

*He hath the plague.**The plague.**The great plague.*

Obf. Were it not that they live in sweet Aire, and remove persons and Houses from the infected, in ordinary course of subordinate Causes, would few or any be left alive, and surviving.

Nmunnádtommin.

Nqúnnuckquus.

Ncúpsá.

189] Npóckunnum.

Npockquanámmen.

Péfuponck.

Npéfuppaûmen.

Péfuppaûog.

*I vomit.**I am lame.**I am deafe.**I am blind.**My disease is I know not what.**An Hot-house.**I goe to sweate.**They are sweating.*

Obf. This Hot-house is a kind of little Cell or Cave, six or eight foot over, round, made on the side of a hill (commonly by some Rivulet or Brooke) into this frequently the men enter after they have exceedingly heated it with store of wood, laid upon an heape of stones in the midle. When they have taken out the fire, the stones keepe still a great heat: Ten, twelve, twenty, more or lesse, enter at once starke naked, leaving their coats, small breeches (or aprons) at the doore, with one to keepe all: here doe they sit round these

³⁷⁶ From *Wesâûi*, yellow, with the affix (*ß*) of derogation or bad quality: 'he is badly yellow.' "Some old Indians, that were then youths [in the time of 'the great plague'] say that the bodies all over were exceeding yellow (describing it by a yellow garment they showed me), both before they died and after-

wards." Gookin's Hist. Coll. 1 M. H. C. i. 148.—Eliot used *Wesaußbâonk* and *Wesßbâonk*, for any pestilential or infectious disease. So, *wesßbau*, she was sick of a fever, Matt. 8: 14. He used also *Enninncâonk*, for 'plague,' 'pestilence,' or other contagious disease, as in Levit. 13: 44, 46; Numb. 11: 33; Jer. 29: 17, &c.

hot stones an houre or more, taking *Tobacco*, discourfing, and sweating together; which sweating they use for two ends: First, to cleanse their skin: Secondly, to purge their bodies, which doubtlesse is a great meanes of preserving them, and recovering them from diseases, especially from the *French* disease, which by sweating and some potions, they perfectly and speedily cure: when they come forth (which is matter of admiration) I have seene [190] them runne (Summer and Winter) into the Brooks to coole them, without the least hurt.

Misquineash.
 Míqui, neépuck.
 Nfauapauhaûmen.
 Matux puckquatchick
 aûwaw.
 Powwaw.
 Maunêtu.
 Powwâw nippétea.
 Yo Wutteántawaw.

The vaines.

Blood.

*I have the bloody Flix.*³⁷⁷

He cannot goe to stool.

Their Priest.

A Conjuror,

The priest is curing him.

He is acting his Cure.

Obs. These Priests and Conjurors (like *Simon Magus*) doe bewitch the people, and not onely take their Money, but doe most certainly (by the help of the Divell) worke great Cures, though most certaine it is that the greatest part of their Priests doe meereley abuse them and get their Money, in the times of their sicknesse, and to my knowledge, long for sick times: and to that end the poore people store up Money, and spend both Money and goods on the *Powwâws*, or Priests in these times, the poore people commonly dye

³⁷⁷ Not an error of the pres. The name of the disease was formerly so written. Dr. Stafford, a London physician, gave Gov. Winthrop a prescription, in 1643, for the cure of 'y^e Bloodie Flix.'

See Proceed. Mass. Hist. Soc. 1860-62, pp. 380, 385.—'Dysenterie, *The bloudie Flix.*' Colgrave (1611); and so, Minshew (1627).

under their hands, for alas, they administer nothing but howle and roare, and hollow over them, and begin the song to the rest of the People about them, who all joyne (like a Quire) in Prayer to their Gods for them.

191] M^askit ponamiin.

M^askit³⁷⁸

Cotatámhea.

| Give me a Plaiſter.

| Give me ſome phyſicke

| Drinke.

Both which they earnestly desire of the *English*, and doe frequently send to my selfe, and others for, (having experimentally found some Mercy of that kind (through Gods blessing) from us.

Nickeétem.

Kitummáyi nickêekon.

| I am recovered.

| I am just now recovered.

Generall Observation of their sicknesse.

It pleaseth the most righteous, and yet patient God to warne and summon, to try and arraigne the univerſall race of *Adams* ſonnes (commonly) upon Beds of ſickneſſe before he proceed to execution of Death and Judgement: Blessed thoſe ſoules which prevent Judgement, Death and ſickneſſe to, and before the evill dayes come, Arraigne, and Judge themſelves, and being ſick for Love to Chriſt, find him or ſeek him in his Ordinances below, and get unfained Affurance of Eternall enjoyment of Him, when they are here no more.

More particular:

One ſtep twix't Me and Death, (twas Davids ſpeech,)

1 *And true of ſick Folks all:*

Mans Leaſe it fades, his Clay houſe cracks;

Before it's dreadfull Fall.

³⁷⁸ *Maskebtu*, *Moskebtu*, and (Ezek. ally, herbs, or, made of herbs.—Comp. 47: 12) *Mahſkitb*, medicine (El.); liter- *maskituaſb*, 'grafs or hay' p. 98.

*Like Grasshopper the Indian leapes,
 2 Till blasts of sicknesse rise:
 Nor soule nor Body Physick hath,
 Then Soule and Body dies.*

*O happy English who for both,
 Have precious physicks store:
 How should (when Christ hath both refresh't,
 Thy Love and zeale be more?*

CHAP. XXXII.

Of Death and Buriall, &c.

As Pummisîn.
 Neenè.

Paúfawut kitonckquêwa.

193] Chachéwunnea.

Kitonckquêi.³⁷⁹

Nipwî mâw.³⁸⁰

Kakitonckquêban.

Sequttôî.

He hath some dead in his house (whether wife or child &c.) for although at the first being sicke, all the Women and Maides blacke their faces with soote and other blackings; yet upon the death of the sicke, the father, or husband, and all his neighbours, the Men also (as the *English* wear

He is not yet departed.

He is drawing on.

He cannot live long.

He is neere dead.

Hee is dead.

He is gone.

They are dead and gone.

He is in blacke; That is,

³⁷⁹ Comp. *kitonckquêan*, when thou diest, p. 122; *kitonckquêbettit*, when they die, p. 127.

³⁸⁰ *Nuppaw*, and *nup*, he dies, is dead;

piſh nup, he shall die; *nob nupuk*, he who is dead, a dead man. El.—*Mâw* is perhaps for *amâei*, *amâeu* (El.) he departeth, he goes away, is gone.

blacke mourning clothes) weare blacke *Faces*, and lay on foote very thicke, which I have often seene clotted with their teares.

This blacking and lamenting they observe in most dolefull manner, divers weekes and moneths; yea, a yeere, if the person be great and publike.

Sécut.

Míchemeshâwi.

Mat wònck kunnawmòne.

Wunnowaúntam

Wullóafin.

Nnowántam, nlóafin.

Sooté.

He is gone for ever.

You shall never see him more.

*Grieved and in bitter-
nessé.*

I am grieved for you.

Obs. As they abound in lamentations for the dead, so they abound in consolation to [194] the living, and visit them frequently, using this word *Kutchimmoke*, *Kutchimmoke*, Be of good cheere, which they expresse by stroaking the cheek and head of the father or mother, husband, or wife of the dead.

Chepassôtam.³⁸¹

| *The dead Sachim.*

³⁸¹ *Cbèpeck*, the dead,—subj. participle of *chippeu*, he is separated, or apart. As an adjective, *chippe* (El.) separated, set apart; *chippe ayeuonk*, the separate place, Ezek. xli. 13; *cbepiobke* and *cbepiobkòmuk* (by which Eliot translates 'hell' and 'hades,') the place of separation. So, *chepassôtam* [*chippe-sòntim*, El.] a dead chief or leader: *chepasquâw*, a dead woman.

The same word (*chippe*, *cbepi*) was used for 'ghost,' 'spectre,' 'evil spirit,'—and was sometimes by the English translated 'Devil,' as another name for *Hobbamoco*. Josselyn says (*Voyages*, 133) "*Abbamoco* or *Cbeepie* many times smites them with incurable diseases," &c.—Heckewelder explains the Delaware

word *Tschipey*, sometimes incorrectly used by translators for "the soul or spirit in man," as signifying, spectre, spirit or ghost, and having "something terrifying about it." "They call the place or world they are to go to after death, *Tschipicyach-gink*, or *Tschipeybacking* [= *Cbepi-obke*, El.] the world of spirits, spectres or ghosts; where they imagine are various frightful figures. None of our old converted Indians (he adds) would suffer the word *Tschipey* to be made use of in a spiritual sense." 2 *Mss. Hist. Coll.*, x. 147.

Eliot gives "*Mattanit*, The Devil. Plur. *Mattannittoo*" (Gram. 9); and employs this word in his bible-translation. Thomas Mayhew (writing from

Mauchaúhom.³⁸²
 Mauchaúhomwock
 Chépeck.
 Chepaſquâw.
 Yo ápapan.³⁸³
 Sachimaûpan.

The dead man.

} *The dead.*

A dead woman.

He that was here.

He that was Prince here.

Obj. Theſe expreſſions they uſe, becauſe, they abhorre to mention the dead by name, and therefore, if any man beare the name of the dead he changeth his name; and if any ſtranger accidentally name him, he is checkt, and if any wilfully name him he is fined; and amongſt States, the naming of their dead *Sachims*, is one ground of their warres; ſo terrible is the King of Terrors, Death, to all naturall men.

Aquie miſhaſh, aquie
 miſhómmeke.
 Cowewênaki.

Doe not name.

*You wrong mee, to wit,
 in naming my dead.*

Pofakúnnamun.
 195] Aukûck pónamun.
 Weſquáubenan.
 or coats, as we ſay, winding ſheets

To bury.

To lay in the earth.

To wrap up, in winding mats

Mockuttáſuit, One of chiefeſt eſteeme, who winds up and

Martha's Vineyard, in 1652,) ſays, that the Indians accounted the Devil, "the terror of the Living, the god of the Dead, under whoſe cruel power and into whoſe deformed likenes they conceived themſelves to be tranſlated when they died; for the ſame word they have for *Devil*, they uſe alſo for a *Dead Man*, in their Language." 3 M. H. C. iv. 202.

³⁸² 'He has gone.' *Mabche* (the auxiliary of the preterite) and *bommin* (*am*,

El.) he goes: pl. *mabche-amwoog*, they have gone.

³⁸³ *Appu* (El.) primarily, 'he fits;' hence, 'remains;' uſed for μένει, 'abideth,' 1 John, iii. 14. Comp. *mat-apeû*, 'he is not at home,' p. 34, ante. In the paſt tenſe, *ápíp*, he ſat, he was; conditional, *ápápan*. In Iſaiah xxiii. 13, Eliot uſes this verb (ſame mood and tenſe) in the plural, *yeug matta apupan-eg*, they who were not. It often ſupplied the

buries the dead, commonly some wife, grave, and well descended man hath that office.

When they come to the Grave, they lay the dead by the Grave's mouth, and then all sit downe and lament; that I have seen teares run downe the cheekes of stoutest Captaines, as well as little children in abundance:³⁸⁴ and after the dead is laid in Grave, and sometimes (in some parts) some goods cast in with them, They have then a second great lamentation, and upon the Grave is spread the Mat that the party died on, the Dish he eat in; and sometimes a faire Coat of skin hung upon the next tree to the Grave, which none will touch, but suffer it there to rot with the dead:³⁸⁵ Yea I saw with mine owne eyes that at my late comming forth of the Countrey, the chiefe and most aged peaceable Father of the Countrey,³⁸⁶ *Caunoūnicus*, having buried his sonne, he burn'd

want of the substantive-verb proper; as in Gen. iii. 9, *tob kutapin?* where *art thou?* and in John viii. 58, *Negonne onk Abrahamwi nutapip*, 'Before Abraham was I am:' on which phrase, and the perplexity it occasioned to Messrs. Duponceau, Heckewelder, Pickering and Davis, see the Notes to Eliot's Grammar (2 Mss. Hist. Coll., ix.) xxvi-ix, and xxx-xliv.

³⁸⁴ "The glut of their griefe being past, they commit the corpses of their deceased friends to the ground, over whose grave is for a long time spent many a briny tear, deepe groane, and *Irisb*-like howlings, continuing annuall mournings with a blacke stiffe paint on their faces." Wood, N. E. Prospect, pt. 2, ch. 19.

³⁸⁵ The Indians (Wood tells us) believed that "at the portall of their *Elyzian* Hospitall, lies a great Dogge, whose churlish snarlings deny a *Pax intransibus* to unworthy intruders: Wherefore it is

their custome, to bury with them their Bows and Arrows, and good store of their *Wampompeage* and *Mowbackies*; the one to affright that affronting *Cerberus*, the other to purchase more immense prerogatives in their Paradise." N. E. Prospect, pt. 2, ch. 19.—Comp. Winslow's Good Newes from N. E. (Young's Chr. of Plymouth, 363).

³⁸⁶ In this place, occasion may be taken to correct an error in the Preface (p. 10), where it is said that "Mr. Williams failed for England early in the summer of 1643." In this statement I followed Professor Knowles (Memoir of R. W. 195), Dr. Elton (Life of R. W., 60), Judge Staples (Annals of Prov., 51), Mr. Arnold (Hist. of R. I., i. 113)—and had the countenance of Mr. Bancroft, who says (i. 425) that Williams arrived in England "not long after the death of Hampden," that is, after June 24th. Yet a more careful examination than I had

his owne Palace, and all his goods in it, (amongst them to a great value) in a sollemne remembrance of his sonne, and in a kind of humble Expiation to the Gods, [196] who (as they believe) had taken his sonne from him.

The generall Observacion of their Dead.

O, how terrible is the looke the speedy and serious thought of death to all the sons of men? Thrice happy those who are dead and risen with the Sonne of God, for they are past from death to life, and shall not see death (a heavenly sweet Paradox or Ridle) as the Son of God hath promised them.

previously made of the original authorities on which these writers apparently relied, convinces me that Williams's embarkation at Manhattan was early in the *spring* of 1643,—certainly, before the end of March. It is true that Winthrop (ii. 97) under the date of June 20, mentions the pacification of the Long Island Indians, effected "by the mediation of Mr. Williams, who *was then there* to go in a Dutch ship for England:" but this is introduced at the close of an account of hostilities between the Dutch and Indians from their beginning, in *February*, to their termination (by a covenant of peace with the River Indians) in *April*. Mr. Williams himself, in a letter to the Massachusetts Court, Oct. 5, 1654, has enabled us to approximate more nearly to the date of his sailing. He says that while at Manhattan, he "saw the first breaking forth of the Indian War which the Dutch began," and that before the ship in which he had taken passage weighed anchor, "bowries were in flames, Dutch and English were slain,"

&c. [See this letter, printed from the original, in Appendix to Plymouth Col. Records, x. 438-442.] From other sources, we know that the war was begun by the massacre in cold blood of some hundred and twenty Indians at Pavonia and Corlaer's Hook, by Dutch soldiers, on the night of February ¹⁵/₂₅; that within a week afterwards, the Indians made terrible retaliation, on Dutch and English; that the Long Island Indians made propositions for peace, as early as Feb. 22 (March 4, N. S.), and that a treaty with them was concluded March ¹⁵/₂₅, and another with the River Indians, April ¹²/₂₂. See Brodhead's Hist. of N. York, i. 350-59; DeVries, in 2 N. Y. Hist. Soc. Coll., iii. 113-119; Broad Advice, in same volume, 255, 256. Dr. Palfrey, in a note to his History of N. England, i. 609, alludes to Williams's departure as "some six months" before Mrs. Hutchinson's death in September, 1643,—and thereby indicates his dissent from the authorities referred to in the first part of this note.

More particular :

*The Indians say their bodies die,
Their soules they doe not die ;
Worse are then Indians such, as hold
The soules mortalitie.*

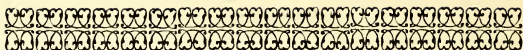
*Our hopelesse Bodie rots, say they,
Is gone eternally,
English hope better, yet some's hope
Proves endlesse miserie.*

*Two Worlds of men shall rise and stand
'Fore Chriſts moſt dreadfull barre ;
Indians, and English naked too,
That now moſt gallant are.*

197] *True Chriſt moſt Glorious then ſhall make
New Earth, and Heavens New ;
False Chriſts, false Chriſtians then ſhall quake,
O bleſſed then the True.*

Now, to the moſt High and moſt Holy, Immortall, Inviſible, and onely Wiſe God, who alone is *Alpha* and *Omega*, the *Beginning* and the *Ending*, the *Fiſt* and the *Laſt*, who *Was* and *Is*, and is to *Come* ; from *Whom*, by *Whom*, and to *Whom* are all things ; by *Whoſe* gracious aſſiſtance and wonderfull ſupportment in ſo many varieties of hardſhip and outward miſeries, I have had ſuch converſe with Barbarous Nations, and have been mercifully aſſiſted, to frame this poore KEY, which may, (through His Bleſſing) in His owne holy ſeaſon) open a Doore ; yea, Doors of unknowne Mercies to Us and Them, be Honour, Glory, Power, Riches, Wiſdome, Goodneſſe and Dominion aſcribed by all His in Jeſus Chriſt to Eternity, *Amen*.

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I have further treated of these *Natives of New-England*, and that great point of their *Conversion* in a little additional *Discourse* apart from this.

* * * In the foregoing Table, the *second* column of page-numbers refers to the pages of *this edition*: but all citations and references in the Preface and notes are made by the pages of the *first* edition.



I *Have read over these thirty Chapters of the American Language, to me wholly unknowne, and the Observations, these I conceive inoffensive; and that the Worke may conduce to the happy end intended by the Author.*

IO. LANGLEY.

Printed according to this Licence; and entred into
Stationers Hall.



LETTER

OF

JOHN COTTON,

III

AND

ROGER WILLIAMS'S REPLY.

EDITED BY

REUBEN ALDRIDGE GUILD.

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS.

—:o:—



IN the year 1643, there appeared in London a little quarto pamphlet of thirteen pages, entitled, "A Letter of Mr. John Cottons," &c. This letter, which is here reprinted, appears to be part of a somewhat extended correspondence between Cotton and Williams, and the beginning of a long continued controversy. It is printed, it will be observed, almost entire in the "Reply," Mr. Williams giving it paragraph by paragraph, and adding thereto his remarks and reasonings. At the time of its publication, the author was "Teacher of the Church in Boston," and, it may be added, one of the most distinguished scholars and divines in New England. A few facts respecting his early career, we have compiled from the various biographies of him extant.

The Rev. JOHN COTTON was born in Derby, England, on the 4th of December, 1585. His father, Roland Cotton, was a Puritan lawyer of honorable descent, whose family, as tradition reports, had been unjustly "deprived of great revenues." At the date which we have indicated, the conflict between the two adverse elements of the English Reform-

ation had not yet passed its first great crisis. There were no known "Dissenters," in the modern English use of that word, but almost everywhere there were "Non-conformists," the spiritual descendants of Wycliffe and the Lollards, praying and laboring for a purer and more thorough reformation, which should bring the church of England into a full agreement with the purest churches on the continent. Of this latter class were the parents of the youthful Cotton. His first lessons were from the "Geneva Bible," so popular at this time among Protestants. The discourses to which he often listened by the fireside, were upon practical religious themes or disputed questions in theology. Under these influences, and with such training as the grammar school in his native town afforded, he was fitted for the University; and at the early age of thirteen he was admitted to Trinity College in Cambridge.

Of the two ancient Universities in England, Cambridge, rather than Oxford, was at this period the home and centre of Puritan influence. Here Cranmer, and Ridley and Latimer had been educated; and here through Cranmer's influence, Martin Bucer, the reformer of Strasburg, had been placed in the chair of theology. Here too, Bacon, and Milton, and Newton, and Coke, the patron of Roger Williams, and a host of the leading Puritans in Church and in State received their academic training. Cotton's standing in his college was such that, according to his biographers, he would have obtained a fellowship had not the election, for financial reasons, been deferred. On this account, perhaps, he removed from Trinity College to Emmanuel, then recently founded. Here he obtained a fellowship, and here he resided many years, studying, disputing and teaching, honored with various academical distinctions, and regarded by his friends everywhere as one

of the most famous young men in his day. He was chosen head lecturer by the college authorities, and engaged as tutor to many scholars, who afterwards became distinguished in the various walks of literary and professional life. It was while engaged in these congenial employments that the influences of home and of parental training became manifest. His mind underwent a thorough and radical change. He renounced his worldly self-righteous views and became an humble follower of Jesus.

At the age of twenty-six, leaving the University which had been his home for thirteen years, he entered upon his duties as pastor of the ancient church of St. Botolph, in the town of Boston, Lincolnshire. Here his labors were extraordinary, for, in addition to other vocations, he generally preached four lectures in the course of a week, to crowds of eager hearers. His efforts to advance the spiritual welfare of his charge resulted in a general reformation throughout the town. The voice of profanity was hushed, and the great leading truths of the gospel were received in the hearts of the people. He remained in Boston twenty years, and was universally admired as a preacher and beloved as a man. It was during this period that he became intimately acquainted with the leading families, who, under the guidance of Winthrop, emigrated, in the year 1630, to America. Many of these families were from his own immediate parish and vicinity. It was in honor of the place where he had so long and so successfully preached, that the metropolis of New England received its name. During this period he also formed the acquaintance of him, who, in matters pertaining to freedom of conscience, was to be his great antagonist. From a passage in the "Bloody Tenent yet more Bloody," it is more than probable that Mr. Williams was the pastor of a church

somewhere in his neighborhood, and that even then they used to discuss together the points which afterwards formed the principal subjects of their controversial works.

At length the government of the English Church fell into the hands of Bishop Laud, and divisions arose among the parishioners of St. Botolph. Mr. Cotton was cited to appear before the High Commission Court and fled to London. Here for a time he remained concealed, and at length he embarked, with his wife, for the "asylum of the persecuted and the oppressed." After a passage of eight weeks he landed at Boston, Wednesday, Sept. 4, 1633, in company with Mr. Hooker, and Mr. Stone; which "glorious triumvirate," says the quaint Mather, "coming together, made the poor people in the wilderness to say, That the God of heaven had supplied them with what would in some sort answer their three great necessities: *Cotton* for their clothing, *Hooker* for their fishing, and *Stone* for their building." "In all its generations of worth and refinement, Boston," says the historian Palfrey, "has never seen an assembly more illustrious for generous qualities or for manly culture, than when the magistrates of the young Colony welcomed Cotton and his fellow voyagers at Winthrop's table." In the month of October following his arrival, Mr. Cotton was established the "teacher of the church in Boston," as colleague with Mr. Wilson, who was pastor. To this office he was set apart on a day of special fasting and prayer, with the imposition of hands. He continued his relations with this church until his death, in 1652, a period of nineteen years. His history during this time is the history of the Colony. Such was his influence in establishing the order of the churches, and in moulding and directing social and political affairs, that he has not unjustly been called the "patriarch of New England." To his won-

derful gifts, his piety and learning, we may ascribe in a large degree the great moral power which he thus wielded. To this may also be added the signal sacrifices he had himself made for the cause of truth. When he came to the new country, he left behind him family connexions of respectability and worth; the friendship of the rich, the learned, and the great; and the prospect of speedy preferment in the Church, on condition of "conformity." He exchanged his comfortable home in a populous town, where he dwelt in honor, for a rude settlement in the wilderness; and the stately gothic edifice of St. Botolph, where listening crowds hung from week to week upon his lips, for a wretched ill constructed meeting house, having mud walls and a thatched roof. All these things tended doubtless to give him sway over the minds of the people, who always listened to his teachings with deference, and who were ready to say with the ancient Hebrews to their Lawgiver, "All that the Lord hath spoken will we do."

"In his controversy with Mr. Williams," says Allen,¹ "he found an antagonist, whose weapons were powerful and whose cause was good; while he himself unhappily advocated a cause which he had once opposed, when suffering persecution in England. He contended for the interference of the civil power in support of the truth, and to the objection of Mr. Williams, that this was infringing the rights of conscience, the only reply that could be made was, that when a person, after repeated admonitions, persisted in rejecting and opposing fundamental points of doctrine or worship, it could not be from conscience, but against conscience, and therefore that it was not persecution for cause of conscience for the civil power to drive such persons away, but it was a wise

¹ American Biographical Dictionary.

regard to the good of the church ; it was putting away evil from the people.”

The Letter, which is here reprinted, was written soon after the banishment of Williams, although not published until a later period. In it the author claims that persons who are godly should be received into the church, even though they do not see and discountenance all the “pollutions in church-fellowship, ministry, worship and government.” Mr. Cotton was in theory a Nonconformist ; nevertheless he loved the stately service and the communion of the Established Church, although he rejected its popish ceremonies and worldly usages. His antagonist, on the contrary, believed it to be an anti-Christian church, and hesitated not in declaring that its rights should be abolished, its ministry forsaken, and its communion abjured. He advocated the entire separation of Church and State, and the most absolute freedom of conscience in all religious concerns. The two were therefore representative men, the representatives of two great religious bodies, or opposing parties. Mr. Cotton belonged to the Puritans, who, in New England, in its early periods, became Congregationalists—in Old England, during the Commonwealth, chiefly Presbyterians. Mr. Williams was a Separatist, or Nonconformist, both in theory and in practice. His opinions in matters of church government coincided rather with the views and opinions of the Independents, and of the Sectaries, as they were sometimes called under Cromwell, especially of the Baptists, from that time down to the present day.

From the address “to the impartial reader” in the following Reply, it appears that Mr. Cotton’s letter was not published by Williams himself, but by some friend, who, unknown to him, had procured a copy and thus made it public. Mr.

Cotton in his "Reply to Mr. Williams, his Examination," published in 1647, thus speaks of the Letter. "But how it came to be put in print, I cannot imagine. Sure I am it was without my privity: and when I heard of it, it was to me unwelcome news, as knowing the truth and weight of Pliny's speech, *Aliud est scriberie uni, aliud omnibus*. There be who think it was published by Mr. Williams himself, or by some of his friends, who had the copy from him. Which latter might be the more probable, because himself denieth the publishing of it: and it sticketh in my mind that I received many years ago, a refutation of it, in a brotherly and ingenuous way, from a stranger to me, but one, as I hear, well affected to him, Mr. Sabine Staresmore. To whom I had long ago returned an answer, but that he did not direct me where my letter might find him. But I do not suspect Mr. Staresmore, nor Mr. Williams himself to have published it; but rather some other, unadvised, Christian, who, having gotten a copy of the letter, took more liberty than God alloweth, to draw forth a private admonition to public notice in a disorderly way."

Mr. Williams, it will be observed, speaks of his opponent as an "excellent and worthy man," whom, for "his personal excellencies" he truly honored and loved; nevertheless he charges him with the guilt of his banishment. Mr. Cotton's defence of his own course of conduct appears to us unworthy of his usual candor, betraying a mind ill at ease, and painfully conscious of unjust and unkind dealings towards a former friend and companion in tribulation.

The original edition of Williams's Reply to Cotton, like most of the author's productions, may be included in that class of books which Clement, in his "Bibliothèque Curieuse," denominates *excessively rare*. Mr. J. Carter Brown

has two copies. Mr. J. Wingate Thornton, of Boston, has also a copy, "clean and fair as when it came from the press." Copies are to be found in the libraries of Brown University, Yale College, and the American Antiquarian Society at Worcester. A copy is also to be found in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, and another in the library of the British Museum. From this latter copy the Hanserd Knollys Society published, in 1848, a handsome reprint, as an appendix to "The Bloody Tenent of Persecution."

R. A. G.

BROWN UNIVERSITY, October 15, 1866.



A
LETTER

OF

Mr. *JOHN COTTONS*

Teacher of the Church in *Boston*,

IN

NEVV-ENGLAND,

TO

Mr. *WILLIAMS* a Preacher there.

Wherein is shewed,

That those ought to be received into the
Church who are Godly, though they doe
not see, nor expressely bewaile all the
pollutions in Church-fellowship,
Ministry, Worship, Government.

Imprimatur, *John Bachiler.*

Printed at *London* for *Benjamin Allen.* 1643.



A

Letter of Mr. *John Cottons*, Teacher of the
Church in *Boston*, in *New England*.

Beloved in Christ,



Hough I have little hope (when I consider the uncircumcision of mine owne lips, *Exod.* 6. 12.) that you will hearken to my voyce, who hath not hearkened to the body of the whole Church of Christ with you, and the testimony, and judgement of so many Elders and Brethren of other Churches, yet I trust my labour will be accepted of the Lord; and who can tell but that he may blesse it to you also, if (by his helpe) I indeavour to shew you the sandinesse of those grounds, out of which you have banished yours from the fellowship of all the Churches in these Countries. Let not any prejudice against my person (I beseech you) forestall either your affection or judgement, as if I had hastened forward the sentence of your civill banishment; for what was done by the Magistrates, in that kinde, was neither done by my counsell nor consent, although I dare not deny the sentence passed to be righteous in the eyes of God, who hath said that he that with-holdeth the Corne (which is the staffe of life) from the people, the multitude shall curse him, *Prov.* 11. 26. how much more shall they separate such from them as doe with-hold and separate them from the Ordinances, or the Ordinances from them (which are in Christ the bread [2] of life.) And yet it may be they passed that sentence against you not

upon that ground, but for ought I know, upon your other corrupt doctrines, which tend to the disturbance both of civill and holy peace, as may appeare by that answer which was sent to the Brethren of the Church of *Salem*, and to your selfe. And to speake freely what I thinke, were my soule in your soules stead, I should thinke it a worke of mercy of God to banish me from the civill society of such a Common wealth, when I could not enjoy holy fellowship with any Church of God amongst them without sin. What should the Daughter of *Zion* doe in *Babell*? why should she not hasten to flee from thence? *Zach. 2. 6, 7.*

I speake not these things (the God of Truth is my witnes) to adde affliction to your affliction, but (if it were the holy will of God) to move you to a more serious fight of your sin, and of the justice of Gods hand against it. Against your corrupt Doctrines, it pleased the Lord Jesus to fight against you with the sword of his mouth (as himselfe speaketh, *Rev. 2. 16.*) in the mouthes and testimonies of the Churches and Brethren. Against whom, when you over-heated your selfe in reasoning and disputing against the light of his truth, it pleased him to stop your mouth by a suddaine disease, and to threaten to take your breath from you. But you in stead of recoyling (as even *Balaam* offered to doe in the like case) you chose rather to persist in your way, and to protest against all the Churches and Brethren that stood in your way: and thus the good hand of Christ that should have humbled you, to see and turne from the error of your way, hath rather hardened you therein, and quickned you onely to see failings (yea intolerable errors) in all the Churches and brethren, rather then in your selfe. In which course though you say you doe not remember an houre wherein the countenance of the Lord was darkned to you, yet be not deceived, it is no [3] new

thing with Satan to transforme himfelfe into an Angell of light, and to cheare the foule with falſe peace, and with ſhaſhes of counterfeit conſolation. Sad and wofull is the memory of Maſter *Smiths* ſtrong conſolations on his death-bed, which are ſet as a Seale to the groſſe and damnable Arminianiſme and Enthufiaſmes delivered in the confeſſion of his faith, prefixed to the ſtory of his life and death. The countenance of God is upon his people when they feare him, not when they preſume of their owne ſtrength; and his conſolations are found not in the way of preſidence in error, but in the wayes of humility and truth.

Two ſtumbling blockes (I perceive by your letter) have turned you off from fellowſhip with us. Firſt, the want of fit matter of our Church. Secondly, diſreſpect of the ſeparate Churches in England under afflictions, who doe our ſelves practiſe ſeparation in peace.

‘For the firſt, you acknowledge (as you ſay) with joy that ‘godly perſons are the viſible matter of theſe Churches, but ‘yet you ſee not that godly perſons are matter fitted to conſtitute a Church, no more then trees or Quarries are fit matter proportioned to the building.

Anſw. This exception ſeemeth to mee to imply a contradiction to it ſelfe, for if the matter of our Churches be as you ſay godly perſons, they are not then as trees unfelled, or ſtones unhewen. Godlineſſe cutteth men downe from the former roote, and heweth them out of the pit of corrupt nature, and fitteth them for fellowſhip with Chriſt and with his people.

‘You object, firſt, a neceſſity lying upon godly men before ‘they can be fit matter for Church fellowſhip, to ſee, bewaile, ‘repent, and come out of the falſe Churches [4] miniſtry, ‘worſhip and government, according to Scripturs, *Iſa.* 52.

'11, 2. *Cor.* 6. 17. *Revel.* 18. 4. And those this to be done 'not by a locall remoovall or contrary practife, &c. but by a 'deliverance of the foule, understanding, minde, conscience, 'judgement, will and affections.

Anfw. 1. We grant it is not locall remoovall from former pollutions, or contrary practife, that fitteth us for fellowship with Christ and his Church, but that it is necessary also that we doe repent of such former pollutions wherein we have bene defiled and inthrallled.

Wee grant further that it is likewise necessary to Church-fellowship, we should see and discern all such pollutions as doe so farre enthrall us to Antichrist, to separate us from Christ.

But this we professe unto you, that wherein we have reformed our practife, therein have we endeavoured unfainedly to humble our soules for our former contrary walking. If any through hypocrisie are wanting herein, the hidden hypocrisie of some will not prejudice the sinceritie and faithfulnessesse of others, nor the Church estate of all.

And that we doe (by the grace of Christ) see and discern all such pollutions as doe so farre enthrall us to Antichrist as to separate us from Christ; your selfe doth acknowledge in acknowledging the visible members of these Churches to be godly persons; for godly persons are not so enthrallled to Antichrist, as to separate them from Christ, else they could not be godly persons.

Anfw. 2. We deny that it is necessary to Church fellowship (to wit, so necessary as that without it, a Church cannot be) that the members admitted thereunto should all of them see, expressly bewaile all the [5] pollutions which they have bene defiled with in the former Church-fellowship, ministry, worship, government. If they see and bewaile so much

of their former pollutions as did enthrall them to Antichrist, as to separate them from Christ, and be ready in preparation of heart, as they shall see more light, so to hate more and more every false way, we conceive it is as much as is necessarily required to separation from Antichrist, and to fellowship with Christ and his Churches. The Churches of *Iudea* admitted many thousands Jewes that believed on the name of Christ, although they were still zealous of the Law, and saw not the beggerly emptiness of *Moses* his ceremonies, *Act.* 21. 20. And the Apostle *Paul* directeth the Romans to receive such unto them as are weake in the faith, and see not their liberty from the servile difference of meats and dayes, but still lie under the bondage of the Law, yea he wisheth them to receive such upon this ground, because Christ hath received them, *Rom.* 14. 1. to 6.

Say not, there is not the like danger of lying under bondage to *Moses* as to Antichrist, for even the bondage under *Moses* was such, as if they continued in after instruction and conviction, would separate them from Christ, *Gal.* 5. 2. And bondage under Antichrist could doe no more.

Answ. 3. To the places of Scripture which you object, *Isa.* 52. 11. 2 *Cor.* 6. 17. *Revel.* 18. 4. we answer, two of them make nothing to your purpose, for that of *Esfay* and the other of the *Revelation*, speake of locall separation, which your selfe knoweth we have made, and yet you say you doe not apprehend that to be sufficient. As for that place of the *Corinthians*, it onely requireth comming out from Idolaters in the fellowship of their Idolatry. No marriages were they to make with them: no feasts were they to hold with them in the Idols Temple: no intimate familiaritie were they to 6] maintaine with them: nor any fellowship were they to keepe with them in the unfruitfull workes of darknesse; and

this is all which that place requireth. But what makes all this to prove that we may not receive such persons to Church-fellowship as our selves confesse to be godly, and who doe professedly renounce and bewaile all knowne sinne, and would renounce more if they knew more, although it may be they doe not yet see the utmost skirts of all that pollution they have sometimes beene defiled with; as the Patriarchs saw not the pollution of their Polygamie. But that you may plainly see this place is wrested besides the Apostles scope, when you argue from it that such persons are not fit matter of Church-fellowship, as are defiled with any remnants of Antichristian pollution; nor such Churches any more to be accounted Churches, as doe receive such amongst them; Consider I pray you, were there not at that time in the Church of *Corinth* such as partaked with Idolaters in their Idols Temples? and was not this the touching of an uncleane thing? and did this sinne reject these members from Church fellowship before conviction? or did it evacuate their Church estate for not casting out of such members?

2. Your second objection is taken from the confession of 'sinnes made by *Jobns* Disciples, and the profelyte Gentiles 'before admission into Church-fellowship, *Matth.* 3. 6. *Act.* '19. 18. whence you gather that Christian Churches are constituted of such members as make open and plaine confession of their sinnes; and if any sinnes be to be confessed and 'lamented, (Jewish, or Paganish) then Antichristian drunkenesse, and whoredome much more, of all such as have 'drunke of the whores cup, or but sipt of it. And therefore 'as persons, though godly, are not made fit for the Church, 'if open drunkenesse or whoredome lie upon [7] them, yea 'or but one act of either, untill conviction, true repentance, 'confession, and renunciation of their wayes be discerned: 'so here.

And yet as if you had grasped more then you could hold, you let fall some part of what you had assumed, and doe grant, that

‘Such a confession and renunciation is not absolute necessary to the admission of members, (though the want of it ‘be a grievous offence) if the substance of true repentance be ‘discerned.

Ans^w. 1. If such a confession and renunciation be not of absolute necessity to the admission of members when the substance of true repentance is discerned, then such Congregations may be true Churches (by your owne confession) who doe admit for their members such godly persons as doe profess and hold forth the substance of true repentance; for such persons professing their repentance for all their knowne and open finnes, doe withall profess their readinesse to repent of and forsake whatsoever further finnes shall be discovered to them.

Ans^f. 2. When you judge that godly persons are not matter fitted for the Church, untill first they be illuminated and convinced of the sinfulness of every sipping of the whores cup; you take away with the one hand what you granted with the other, and withall you impose a burthen upon the Church of Christ, which Christ never required at their hands nor yours.

For we deny that it is necessary to the admission of members that every one should be convinced of the sinfulness of every sipping of the Whores cup, for every sipping of a drunkards cup is not sinfull; and though the cup of the whore doe more intoxicate the mind then the drunkards cup doth the body, yet you know bodily drunkenness and [8] whoredome are such notorious and grosse finnes that no man that hath any true repentance in him, cannot but bee convinced

of the sinfulness of them, and of the necessity of repentance of them in particular. But the Whores cup being a mystery of iniquity, the sinfulness of it, is nothing so evident and notorious as that every true repentant soule doth at first discern the filthiness of it: and therefore as those three thousand Jewes and Profelytes were admitted into the fellowship of the first Christian Church, when they repented of their murder of Christ, although they never saw nor confessed all the superstitious leavenings wherewith the Pharisees had bewitched them, *Act. 2. 37 to 47.* so doubtlesse may such godly persons be admitted into the fellowship of our Churches, who doe truly repent and confesse their greatest and most notorious sins, although they be not yet convinced of every passage of Antichristian superstition, wherewith they have beene defiled in their former walkings.

The Disciples of *John* (whom you instance in) did indeed confesse their sinnes, the Publicans their sinnes, the Souldiers theirs, the People theirs, but yet it doth not appeare that they confessed their Pharisaicall pollutions, but rather the notorious sinnes, incident to their callings, as did also those Gentiles of whom you speake, *Act. 19. 18, 19.* Conjurers confessed their curious Arts, and others their deeds, but whether all their deeds, is not expressed.

Answ. 3. But to satisfie you more fully (and the Lord make you willing in true meekenesse of Spirit to receive satisfaction) the body of the members whom we receive, doe in generall professe, the reason of their comming over to us was, that they might be freed from the bondage of such humane inventions and ordinances as their soules groaned under, for which also they professe their hearty sorrow, so far as 9] through ignorance or infirmity they have beene defiled. Besides, in our daily meetings, and especially in times of our

solemne humiliations, we generally all of us bewaile all our former pollutions, wherewith we have defiled our selves, and the holy things of God, in our former Administrations and Communion, but wee rather choose to doe it, than to talke of it, and wee cannot but wonder how you can so boldly and resolutely renounce the Churches of Christ, for neglect of that, which you know not whether they have neglected or no, and before you have admonished us of our sinfulness in such neglect, if it be found amongst us.

Object. 3. Your third Objection is taken from *Hag.* 2. 13, 14, 15. a place which you desire may be thoroughly weighed, and that the Lord would hold the scales himselfe. The Prophet there tels the Church of the Jewes, that if a person uncleane by a dead body, touch holy things, those holy things become uncleane unto him, and so, saith he, is this Nation, and so is every worke of their hands, and that which they offer there is uncleane. And this (as you conceive) argueth that even Church Covenants made, and Ordinances practised by persons polluted through spirituall deadnesse and filthinesse of Communion, they become uncleane unto them, and are prophaned by them.

Answ. Now surely if your selfe had hearkened to your owne desire, and had throughly weighed the Scripture, and had suffered the Lord to have held the scales himselfe, you would never have alledged this place to your purpose. Your purpose was to prove that Churches cannot be constituted by such persons as are uncleane by antichristian pollutions, or if they be so constituted, they are not to be communicated with, but separated from: To prove this you alledge this place; when the Prophet acknowledgeth the whole Church of the Jewes to be uncleane, and yet neither denyeth them to be a Church truly constituted, nor stirreth up himselfe or others to separate from them.

If you say, why but they were unclean? I Answer, be it so, but were they therefore no Church truly constituted, or to be separated from? yea did not *Haggai* and *Zachary* themselves communicate with them, and call others also to come out of *Babell* to communicate with them, even whilst *Josbua* the High Priest was still polluted with his unclean garments, *Zac.* 2. 6, 7. with 6. 3. 8. 3. But if indeed you desire to know, what upon due weighing of the place, I conceive to be the meaning of it, you shall finde it to be this; The occasion of the words arise [10] from a worldly distemper, which the time grew upon, all sorts of the members of that Church, who were so farre carryed away with care of their owne outward accommodations, that while every man looked to his owne house, and the seiling of it, the Temple of the Lord and the building thereof was generally neglected of them all, Prince, Priest, and People, whence it was that God neither delighted in their spirituall services, nor in their bodily labours, but left them without a blessing in both, *Hagg.* 1. 6. to 11. Now to cleare the justice of Gods proceeding against them in that case, he alledgeth a secondable law for it, out of *Moses*; The former is written in *Levit.* 6. 27. where the Law saith, that a garment touching any holy flesh of the sin offering should be holy. But if the garment which toucheth holy flesh shall touch other things, as the person that weareth it, or any pottage, or Bread, or wine, or any touch of other common thing, the thing touched is not thereby hallowed by the touch of such a garment.

Againe, there was another Law, that whosoever touched any unclean body, should be unclean seven dayes, and if in that time hee touched the Tabernacle, or the holy things thereof, they shall be unclean, *Numb.* 19. 13. Now (to apply these Lawes to the scope of the Prophet) the touch of

a dead body did type out either fellowship with dead workes, as *Ephes.* 5. 11. or dead persons, *2 Cor.* 6. 14, 15, 16, 17. or dead world, *Gal.* 6. 14. but of these three, it was the dead world wherewith Priest and Prince and all the people were at that time generally defiled, in that they tooke more care and paines for worldly conveniences, then for the Lords holy Ordinances. Whereupon according to the answer of the Priest, agreeable to the Law, the Prophet pronounceth them, in the sight of the Lord, all to be uncleane.

From both these Lawes, and the Interpretation of them by the Priest, and the application of them by the Prophet, it appeareth that there were two sorts of these people, and both uncleane. Some that did not touch the holy flesh, or offerings, but on the outside of their garments onely, to wit, in bodily presence (and the body is but the garment of the Soule) *1 Cor.* 5. 4. and such were all the Hypocrites amongst them: Others were sincere, as worshipping God in firme Truth, as *Zorobabell*, *Jehoshua*, and many more, but yet now defiled with touching a dead body, that is, with laying hold on a dead world, their worldly accommodations, which made their hearts and hands flow or dead to set forward the Temple worke, and in this condition [11] both sorts, their persons, their oblations, their bodily labours, were all uncleane, and found neither acceptance nor blessing from the Lord, till the Lord stirred up the Spirits of them all to adresse themselves more seriously to the Temple worke, *Hag.* 1. 12, 13, 14.

This I take to be the true and genuine meaning of the place, which if you apply to the point in hand, will reach nothing neare to your purpose. Hypocrites in the Church, and godly Christians themselves, whilst they attend to the world more then to the things of God, their persons,

their labours, their civill oblations are all uncleane in the sight of God ; therefore the Church of Christ cannot be constituted of such, or if it doe consist of such, the people of God must separate from them. You might well have gathered, therefore, the Church of Christ and the members thereof must separate themselves from their hypocrisie, and inordinate love of this world, or else they and their duties will still be uncleane in the sight of God, notwithstanding their Church estate. This collection tendeth to edification, the other to dissipation and destruction of the Church, and of them that wrest blood in stead of milke from the breasts of holy Scripture.

The second stumbling blocke or offence which you take 'at the way of these Churches is, that you conceive us to 'walke betwixt Christ and Antichrist.

'First, in practising separation here, and not repenting of 'our preaching and printing against it in our owne country.

'Secondly, in reproaching your selfe at *Salem* and others 'for separation.

'Thirdly, in particular, that my selfe have conceived and 'spoken, that separation is a way that God hath not prof- 'pered, as if (say you) the truth of the Churches way depended 'upon countenance of men, or upon outward peace and lib- 'erty.

Answer. 1. In stead of halting betwixt Christ and Antichrist, wee conceive the Lord hath guided us to walke with an even foote betweene two extreames ; so that we neither defile our selves with the remnant of pollutions in other Churches, nor doe wee for the remnant of pollutions renounce the Churches themselves, nor the holy ordinances of God amongst them, which our selves have found powerfull to our salvation. This moderation, so farre as we have kept it in preaching or print-

ing, wee see no cause to repent of, but if you shew us cause why we should repent of it, wee shall desire to repent that we repented no sooner.

12] 2. I know no man that reproacheth *Salem* for their separation, nor doe I beleve that they doe separate. Howsoever if any doe reproach them for it, I thinke it a sinne meet to be censured, but not with so deepe a censure as to excommunicate all the Churches, or to separate from them before it doe appeare that they doe tolerate their members in such their causelesse reproachings. Wee confesse the errors of men are to be contended against, not with reproaches, but the sword of the Spirit; but on the other side, the failings of the Churches (if any be found) are not forthwith to be healed by separation. It is not Chirurgery, but Butchery, to heale every sore in a member with no other medicine but abscission from the body.

3. For my selfe, I acknowledge the words which you mention, that the way of separation is not a way that God hath prospered. But you much mistake, when you thinke I speake it for want of their outward countenance, peace and liberty. The truth is, they finde more favour in our native country then the way of reformation wherein we walke, which is commonly reproached by the name of Puritanisme. The meetings of the Separatists may be knowne to the Officers in the Courts and winked at, when the Conventicles of the puritans (as they call them) shall be hunted out with all diligence, and pursued with more violence then any law will justifie. But I said that God had not prospered the way of separation, because he hath not blessed it either with peace amongst themselves, or with growth of grace; such as erring through simplicitie and tenderesse of conscience have growne in grace, have growne also to discern their lawfull

liberty to returne to the hearing of the word from English Preachers.

Object. But this (you feare) is to condemne the witnesses of Jesus (the separate Churches in London and elsewhere) and our jealous God will visit us for such arrerages, yea the curse of his Angel from *Meroz* will fall upon us, because we come not forth to helpe Jehovah against the mighty, we pray not for them, wee come not at them, (but at Parishes frequently) yea we reproach and censure them.

Answer. The Lord Jesus never delivered that way of separation to which they beare witness, nor any of his Apostles after him, nor of his Prophets before him. So farre as in that way they hold or practise any holy truths, wee beare witness to them both in our profession and practise. The Angels curse in this case (wee blesse God) we doe not feare, because we doe come forth (according to the measure of grace given us) to helpe the Lord against the mighty, although we doe not come forth to helpe them against Jehovah. It is not to [13] helpe Jehovah, but Satan against him, to withdraw the people of God from hearing the voyce of Christ which is preached in the evidence, and simplicity, and power of his Spirit in fundry Congregations (though they be Parishes) in our native Country. In which respect, though our people that goe over into England, choose rather to heare in some of the Parishes where the voyce of Christ is lifted up like a trumpet, then in the separated Churches (where some of us may speak by experience we have not found the like presence of Christ, or evidence of his Spirit) do not you marvaile, or stumble at it: Christs sheepe heare his voyce. If any carelessly heare at randome, making no difference betwixt the voyce of Christ and the voyce of strangers, or if they shall stoope to any defilements of themselves, that so

they may heare a good Preacher; as I know none such, so neither doe any of us approve them in so doing.

That wee doe not pray for the separate Churches by name, ^x it is because we cannot pray in faith for a blessing upon their separation, which we see not to be of God nor to be led to him. If any reproach them, I will not goe about to excuse it, onely they may doe well to consider, whether they also have not reproached others.

If there bee so many separate Churches in London and in other parts of the Kingdome (as you write) it is little comfort to the true servants of Christ to heare that either such inventions of men are multiplyed, as like stumbling blockes doe turne any well minded men out of the way, or that such men being desirous of reformation, should stumble, not onely at the inventions of men, but for their sakes at the ordinances of the Lord; which appeareth the more evidently, because they separate not onely from hearing the word in all the Parishes, but also from fellowship (as your selfe say) both of the Church of *Plymouth*, and of that whereof Master *Lathorpe* was Pastor, and yet they refuse all the inventions of men, and choose to serve the Lord in his owne Ordinances onely. Now truely Sir, (to use your owne words) I feare this newes pleaseth not the Lord Jesus, and therefore the more inwardly sorry I am, that it pleaseth you rather to returne to them, not to helpe the Lord against the mighty, to wit, either against the high Prelates, or against the inventions of men, as you suppose, for that you might have done here, or in *Plymouth*, or in Master *Lathorpes* Congregation; but to helpe erring though zealous soules against the mightie Ordinances of the Lord, which whosoever stumble at shall be broken; for whosoever will not kisse the Sunne, (that is, will not heare and imbrace the words of his mouth) shall perish in their way, *Psal.* 2. 12.

FINIS.

Mr. Cottons
LETTER
Lately Printed,
EXAMINED
AND
ANSVVERED:

By *Roger Williams* of *Providence*
In
NEW-ENGLAND.



LONDON,
Imprinted in the yeere 1644.



To the Impartial READER:

THis Letter I acknowledge to have received from Mr. Cotton (whom for his personall excellencies I truly honour and love.) Yet at such a time of my distressed wandrings amongst the Barbarians, that being destitute of food, of cloths, of time I reserved it (though hardly, amidst so many barbarous distractions) and afterward prepared an Answer to be returned.

In the Interim, some Friends being much grieved, that one, publicly acknowledged to be godly and dearly beloved, should yet be so exposed to the mercy of an bowling Wildernesse in Frost and Snow, &c. Mr. Cotton to take off the edge of Censure from himselfe, profess both in speech and writing, that He was no procurer of my sorrows.

Some Letters then past between us, in which I proved and exprest, that if I had perished in that sorrowfull Winters flight; only the blood of Jesus Christ could have washed him from the guilt of mine.

His finall Answer was, had you perished, your blood had beene on your owne head; it was your sinne to procure it, and your sorrow to suffer it.²

¹ "From first to last of my knowledge of him here, I cannot see, nor say, what ground he had of such testimony as he giveth, of himself, as of one publicly acknowledged to be godly and dearly beloved." Master John Cotton's Answer to Master Roger Williams. page 5. (Published in 1647.)

² "I did never believe that the sentence passed against him was an act of

persecution. Nor did I ever see cause to doubt, but that in some cases, (such as this of his,) banishment is a lawful and just punishment; if it be in proper speech a punishment at all in such a country as this, where the jurisdiction (whence a man is banished) is but small, and the country round about it, large and fruitful; where a man may make his choice of variety of more pleasant

*Mr Cottons
reluctancy in
himselfe con-
cerning the
way of perse-
cution.*

*An unmerci-
full speech
from a merci-
full man.*

Here I confesse I stopt, and ever since suppress mine Answer; waiting if it might please the Father of mercies, more to mollifie and soften, and render more humane and mercifull, the care and heart of that (otherwise) excellent and worthy man.

*Gods wisdom
in the season
of publishing
this letter.*

It cannot now, be justly offensive, that finding this Letter publike (by whose procurement I know not) I also present to the same publike view, my formerly intended Answer.

*Times of en-
quirie after
Christ.*

I rejoyce in the goodnesse and wisdom of him, who is the Father of lights and mercies, in ordering the season both of mine owne present opportunity of Answer: As also, and especially of such Protestations and Resolutions of so many fearing God, to seeke what Worship and Worshippers are acceptable to him in Iesus Christ.

*A golden
speech of a
Parliament
man.*

Mine owne eares were glad and late Witnesses of an heavenly Speech of one of the most eminent of that high Assembly of Parliament; viz. why should the Labours of any bee suppress if sober, though never so different? We now professe to seeke God, we desire to see light, &c.

*Times when
seeking of God
comes too late,*

I know there is a time when God will not be found, though men seek him early Prov. 1.

There is a time when Prayer and Fasting comes too late, Jer. 14.

There is a seeking of the God of Israel with a stumbling block, according to which God giveth his Israel an answer, Ezek. 13.

and profitable feats than he leaveth behind him. In which respect banishment in this country is not counted so much a confinement as an enlargement, where a man doth not so much lose civil comforts as change them." Cotton's Answer, p. 8.

Lastly, there is a Proud refusall of the mind of God, returned in Answer by the Prophet Jer. 42.

Love bids me hope for better things: Gods promise assures us, that his people returning from Captivity, shall seek him, and pray, and find him, when they seek him with their whole heart, Jer. 27. And Gods Angel comforts those against all feares that seeke Iesus that was Crucified, Mark 16.

Thy soul so prosper (who ever thou art) *Worthy Reader*, as with thy whole heart thou seekest that true Lord Iesus, who is holynesse it selfe, and requires a Spirituall and holy Bride like to himselfe, the pure and spotlesse Lambe. Hee alone as he is able to save thee to the utmost from thy sins and sorrowes by his Blood. So hath hee brought his Fathers Councell, from his Bosome, and every soule is bound (on paine of eternall Paines) to attend alone his Lawes and Ordinances, Commands and Statutes, Heb. 7. Acts 3.

That Lord Iesus, who purposely chose to descend of meane and inferiour Parents, a Carpenter, &c.

Who disdained not to enter this World in a Stable, amongst Beasts, as unworthy the society of Men: Who past through this World with the esteeme of a Mad man, a Deceiver, a Conjuror, a Traytor against Cæsar, and destitute of an house wherein to rest his head: Who made choice of his first and greatest Embassadors out of Fisher-men, Tent-makers, &c. and at last chose to depart on the stage of a pianfull shamefull Gibbet.

If him thou seekest in these searching times, mak'st him alone thy white and soules beloved, willing to follow and be like him in doing, in suffring: although

*Seekers of
Christ are sure
of a gracious
answere,
2 Thess. 1.* *thou find'st him not in the restauration of his Ordina-
nces, according to his first Patterne.
Yet shalt thou see him, raigne with him, eternally
admire him, and enjoy him, when he sbortly comes in
flaming fire to burne up millions of ignorant and dis-
obedient.*

Your most Vnworthy Countrey-man

Roger Williams.



Mr. Cottons Letter

Examined and Answered.

CHAP. I.

Mr. Cotton.



BELOVED In Christ.

Answer. Though I humbly desire to acknowledge my selfe unworthy to be beloved and most of all unworthy of the name of Christ, and to be beloved for his sake: yet since Mr. Cotton is pleased to use

such an affectionate compellation and testimoniall expression to one so afflicted and persecuted by Himselfe and others (whom for their personall worth and godlinesse I also honour and love.) I desire it may be seriously reviewed by Himselfe and Them, and all men, whether the Lord Jesus be well pleased that one, beloved in him, should (for no other cause, then shall presently appeare) be denyed the common aire to breath in, and a civill cohabitation upon the same common earth; yea and also without mercy and humane compassion be exposed to winter miseries in a howling Wildernes?

A monstrous Paradox, that Godschildren should persecute Godschildren and that they that hope to live eternally together with Christ Iesus in the heavens should not suffer each other to live in this common aire

together, &c. I am informed it was the Speech of an honourable Knight of the Parliament: What, Christ persecute Christ in New England?

*Mr. Cotton
expecting
more Light,
must (accord-
ing to his way
of persecu-
tion) perse-
cute Christ
Jesus if he
bring it.*

And I aske further, Whether (since Mr. *Cotton* else-where professeth to expect farre greater light then yet shines) upon the same grounds and practise, if Christ Jesus in any of his Servants shall be pleased to hold forth a further light, Christ Jesus himselfe shall finde the Mercy and Humanity of a civill and temporall life and being with them?

Mr. *Cotton*. Though I have little hope (when I consider the uncircumcision of mine own lips) that you will hearken to [2] my voice, who have not hearkned to the body of the whole Church of *Christ* with you, and the testimony and judgement of so many Elders and Brethren of other Churches! Yet I trust my labour will be accepted of the Lord, and who can tell but that he may blesse it to you also, if (by his help) I endeavour to shew you the sandines of those grounds, out of which you have banished your self from the fellowship of all the Churches in these Countries.

*Will-worship
varnished
over with the
glittering
shew of Hu-
mility.*

*Spiritual
pride may
swell out of
the sence of a
mans Hu-
mility.*

Ans^w. First I acknowledge it an holy Character of an heavenly Spirit, to make ingenuous true acknowledgement of an uncircumcised lip: yet that discerning Spirit, which God graciously vouchsafeth to them that tremble at his word, shall not only find, that not only the will worships of men may be painted and varnished over with the glittering shew of humility, *Coloss. 2.* but also Gods dearest servants (eminent for humility and meeknes) may yet be troubled with a swelling of spirituall pride out of the very sence of their humility: It pleased God to give *Paul* himselfe preventing physick against this distemper, in the midst of Gods gracious revelation

to him. And what an humble argument doth *David* Humility most unseasonable in setting up will-worship, or persecuting others. use, when himself advised by *Nathan*, went about an evill work out of an holy intention, to wit, a work of willworship, in building the Temple unbidden? *Behold I dwell in an house of cedars, but the Arke of God in a tent, 2 Sam. 7.* Humility is never in season to set up superstition, or to persecute Gods children.

CHAP. II.

Secondly I observe his charge against me, for not hearkning to a twofold voice of Christ: first of the whole Church of Christ with me.³

Unto which I answer, according to my conscience and persuasion. I was then charged by Office with the feeding of that flock: and when in the apprehension of some publike evils, the whole Countrey profest to humble it selfe and seek God, I endeavoured (as a faithfull Watchman on the walls to sound the Trumpet and give the Alarum: and upon a Fast day, in faithfullnes and uprightnesse (as then and still I am perswaded) I discovered 11 publike sins, for which I beleved (and doe) it pleased God to inflict, and further to threaten publike calamities. Most of which 11 (if not all) that Church then seemed to assent unto: untill afterward in my troubles [3] the greater part of that Church, was swayed and bowed (whether for feare of persecution or otherwise) to say and practise what to my knowledge, with signes and groans many of them mourned under.

Publike sins the cause of publike Calamities, must be faithfully discovered by spiritual watchmen.

³ That is, of the Church at Salem, of which Mr. Williams was then the pastor.

Coloff. 4. Faithfullnes to God and Man (though for present Censured) will give rejoycing in day of Death and judgement

I know the Church of *Coloffe* must say to *Archippus*, *Take heed to thy Ministry*, &c, which he may negligently and proudly refuse to hearken to: But let my case be considered, and the word of the Lord examined, and the difference of my case will shine forth, and my faithfullnes and uprightnes to God and the foules of that people will witness for me, when my soule comes to *Hezechiabs* case on his death bed, and in that great day approaching.

The Popish argument from Multitudes.

David and the Princes and 30 thousand of Israel a type of Gods best servants reforming, yet not after the due Order.

For my not hearkning to the second voice, the testimony of so many Elders and Brethren of other Churches (because I truly esteem and honour the persons of which the New-English Churches are constituted.) I will not answer the argument of numbers and multitudes against One, as we use to answer the Popish universalitie, that God sometimes stirs up one *Elijah* against 800.⁴ of *Baals* Priests, one *Micaiah* against 400. of *Ababs* Prophets, one *Athanasius* against many hundredth of *Arrian* Bishops; one *Iohn Hus* against the whole Council of *Constance*; *Luther* and the 2 Witnesses against many thousands &c. Yet this I may truly say, that *David* himself and the Princes of *Israel* and 30 thousand *Israel*, carrying up the Arke, were not to be hearkned to, nor followed in their (as I may say) holy rejoycings and Triumphings, the due Order of the Lord, yet being wanting to their holy intentions and affections, and the Lord at last sending in a sad stop and breach of *Vzzab*, amongst them (*Perez Vzzab*) as he hath ever yet done, and will doe in all the

⁴ This should be four hundred and fifty. See 1 Kings. xviii. 19-22:—or including the “prophets of the groves,” eight hundred and fifty.

Reformations that have been hitherto made by his *Davids*, which are not after the due Order. To which purpose, it is maintained by the Papiſts themſelves, and by their Councils that Scripture only muſt be heard: yea one Scripture in the mouth of one ſimple Mechannick before the whole Council. By that only do I deſire to ſtand or fall in triall or judgement: *For all fleſh is graſſe, and the beautie of fleſh* (the moſt wiſeſt, holieſt, learnedſt) *is but the flowre or beautie of graſſe, only the word of Jehovah ſtandeth faſt for ever.*

*An excellent
confefſion of
the Papiſts
concerning
Scripture.*

4]

CHAP. III.

Thirdly Mr. *Cotton* endeavoureth to diſcover the ſandines of thoſe grounds out of which (as he ſaith) I have baniſhed my ſelfe, &c.

I anſwere, I queſtion not his holy and loving intentions and affections, and that my grounds ſeem ſandie to himſelfe and others. Thoſe intentions and affections may be accepted (as his perſon) with the Lord, as *David* of his deſires to build the Lord a Temple, though on ſandy grounds. Yet Mr. *Cottons* endeavours to prove the firm rock of the truth of Jeſus to be the weak and uncertain ſand of mans invention thoſe ſhall periſh and burn like hay or ſtubble. The rockie ſtrength of thoſe grounds ſhall more appeare in the Lords ſeaſon, and himſelfe may yet confeſſe ſo much, as ſince he came into New *England* he hath confeſt the ſandines of the grounds of many of his practiſes in which he walked in Old *England*, and the rockineſſe of their grounds that witnessed againſt them and himſelf, in thoſe prac-

*Good inten-
tions and af-
fections in
Gods people,
accepted with
God, when
their indeav-
ours periſh
and burn like
ſtubble, &c.*

*Many
grounds ſeem-
ed ſandie to
Mr. Cotton
in Old Eng-
land, which*

now be confessed to be rockie.

tifes, though for that time their grounds seemed sandie to him.

Mr. Cotton formerly persuaded to practise Common Prayer: but since hath writt'n against it.

When my selfe heretofore (through the mercy of the most high discovered to himself and other eminent servants of *God*, my grounds against their using of the Common Prayer; my grounds seemed sandie to them, which since in *New England* Mr. Cotton hath acknowledged rockie, and hath seen cause so to publish to the world in his Discourse to Mr. Ball, against set Forms of Prayer.⁵

But because the Reader may aske both Mr. Cotton and me, what were the grounds of such a sentence of Banishment against me, which are here called sandie, I shall relate in briefe what those grounds were, some whereof he is pleased to discuss in this Letter, and others of them not to mention.

After my publike triall and answers at the generall Court, one of the most eminent Magistrates (whose name and speech may by others be remembered) stood up and spake:

The 4 particular Grounds of my Sentence

Mr. Williams (said he) holds forth these 4 particulars;

First, That we have not our Land by Pattent

⁵ "The truth is, I did not publish that discourse to the world, much less did I see cause to publish it upon the grounds he speaketh of. A brief discourse in defence of set forms of prayer was penned by Mr. Ball, much briefer than that which since is put forth in print. That brief discourse a religious knight sent over, (whether to myself or to a gentleman of note then dwelling in my house, I remember not) but with

desire to hear our judgment of it. At his request I drew up a short answer, and sent one copy of it to the knight, and another to Mr. Ball, divers years ago. How it came (in process of time) to be published to the world, or by whom, I do not know." Cotton's Answer. p. 23. An abstract of the discourse to which allusion is here made, is given by Hanbury in his "Memorials relating to the Independents or Congregationalists."

from the King, but that the Natives are the true ^{of Banishment.} owners of it, and that we ought to repent of such a receiving it by Pattent.

Secondly, That it is not lawfull to call a wicked person to Swear, to Pray, as being actions of Gods Worship.

5] Thirdly, That it is not lawfull to heare any of the Ministers of the Parish Assemblies in *England*.

Fourthly, That the Civill Magistrates power extends only to the Bodies and Goods, and outward state of men, &c.

I acknowledge the particulars were rightly sum'd up, and I also hope, that, as I then maintained the Rockie strength of them to my own & other consciences satisfaction so (through the Lords assistance) I shall be ready for the same grounds, not only to be bound and banished, but to die also, in *New England*, as for most holy Truths of God in Christ Jesus.

Yea but (saith hee) upon those grounds you banished your selfe from the society of the Churches in these countries.

I answer, if Mr. *Cotton* mean my owne voluntary withdrawing from those Churches resolved to continue in those evils, and persecuting the witnesses ^{Christ Iesus speaketh and suffereth in his witnesses.} of the Lord presenting light unto them, I confesse it was mine owne voluntary act; yea, I hope the act of the Lord Jesus sounding forth in me (a poore despised Rams horn) the blast which shall in his owne holy season cast down the strength and confidence of those inventions of men in the worshipping of the true and living God. And lastly, his

*The Dragons
language in a
Lambs lip.*

*Gods children
persecuted are
charged by
their enemies
to be the au-
thors of their
own persecu-
tion.*

*A Nationall
Church the
silent Com-
mon weal or
world fi-*

act in inabling me to be faithfull in any measure to suffer such great and mighty trials for his names sake. But if by banishing my selfe he intend the act of civill banishment from their common earth and aire, I then observe with griefe the language of the Dragon in a lambs lip. Among other expressions of the Dragon are not these common to the witnesses of the Lord Jesus rent and torne by his persecutions? Goe now, say you are persecuted, you are persecuted for Christ, suffer for your conscience: No, it is your schisme, heresie, obstinacie, the Divill hath deceived thee, thou hast justly brought this upon thee, thou hast banished thy selfe, &c. Instances are abundant in so many bookes of Martyrs, and the experience of all men, and therefore I spare to recite in so short a treatise.

Secondly, if he mean this civill act of banishing, why should he call a civill sentence from the civill State, within a few weeks execution in so sharp a time of *New Englands* cold. Why should he call this a banishment from the Churches, except he silently confesse, that the frame or constitution of their Churches is but implicitly National⁶ (which

6 "The fundamental error of our ancestors, an error which began with the very settlement of the colony, was a doctrine, which has since been happily exploded. I mean the necessity of a union between Church and State. To this they clung as the ark of their safety. They thought it the only sure way of founding a Christian commonwealth. They maintained that 'Church government and Civil government may very well stand together, it being the duty of the

magistrate to take care of religion, and to improve his civil authority for observing the duties commanded by it.' They not only tolerated the civil power in the suppression of heresy, but they demanded and enjoined it. They preached it in the pulpit and the synod. It was in their closet prayers, and in their public legislation. The arm of the civil government was constantly employed in support of the denunciations of the Church; and without its forms, the Inquisition

yet they professe [6] against) for otherwise why was I not yet permitted to live in the world, or Common-weale, except for this reason, that the Common weale and Church is yet but one, and hee that is banished from the one, must necessarily bee banished from the other also.

CHAP. IV.

Mr. Cotton. Let not any prejudice against my person, I beseech you, forestall either your affection or judgement, as if I had hasted forward the sentence of your civill banishment; for what was done by the Magistrates in that kind, was neither done by my counsell nor consent.⁷

Ans^w. Although I desire to heare the voyce of God from a stranger, an equall, an inferiour, yea an enemy; yet I observe how this excellent man^s can-

existed in substance, with a full share of its terrors and violence." Judge Story's Discourse in commemoration of the first Settlement of Salem, page 55.

⁷ "Whereupon the magistrates being to assemble to the next General Court, at New-Town, intending, as appeared by the event, to proceed against him; and one of the magistrates of our town being to go thither, acquainted me that it was likely Mr. Williams his cause would then be issued, and asked me what I thought of it. Truly, said I, I pity the man, and have already interceded for him, whilst there was any hope of doing good. But now he having refused to hear both his own church and us, and having rejected us all as no churches of Christ, before any conviction, we have now no more to say in his behalf, nor hope to prevail for him. We have told the Governor and magistrates before,

that if our labor was in vain, we could not help it but must sit down. And you know they are generally so much incensed against his course, that it is not your voice, nor the voices of two, or three more, that can suspend the sentence." Cotton's Answer. p. 39,

⁸ "But the truth is, the love and honor which I have always showed (in speech and writing) to that excellently learned and holy man, your father, have been so great, that I have been censured by divers for it. God knows, that, for God's sake, I tenderly loved and honored his person, as I did the persons of the magistrates, ministers and members whom I knew in Old England, and knew their holy affections, and upright aims, and great self-denial, to enjoy more of God in this wilderness." Letter from Williams to John Cotton of Plymouth. See Proceedings of Mass. Hist. Soc. for March, 1858.

*lently confess
by Mr. Cotton
to be all
one.*

*Persecutors of
mens bodies
feldome or
never do these*

*mens soules
good.*

not but confesse how hard it is for any man to doe good, to speake effectually to the soule or conscience of any whose body he afflicts and persecutes, and that onely for their soule and conscience sake. Hence excellent was the observation of a worthy Gentleman in the Parliament against the Bishops, viz. That the Bishops were farre from the practice of the Lord Jesus, who together with his word preached to the soules of men, shewed their bodies so much mercie and loving kindnesse: whereas the Bishops on the contrary persecute, &c.

*An excellent
observation
of a worthy
Parliament
man.*

Now to the ground from whence my prejudice might arise, he professeth my banishment proceeded not with his counsell or consent. I answer, I doubt not but that what Mr. Cotton and others did in procuring my sorrowes, was not without some regret and reluctancie of conscience and affection (as like it is that *David* could not procure *Vriiabs* death, nor *Afa* imprison the Prophet with a quiet and free conscience.) Yet to the particular that Mr. Cotton consented not, what need he being not one of the civill Court? But that hee counselled it (and so consented,) beside what other prooffe I might produce, and what himselfe here under expresseth, I shall produce a double and unanswerable testimony.

*Gods children
are not so free
in persecuting
Gods children
as persecutors,
whose
professed nature
& trade
it is.*

First, hee publicly taught, and teacheth (except lately Christ Jesus hath taught him better) that body-killing, soule-killing, and State-killing doctrine of not permitting, but persecuting all other consciences and wayes of worship but his own in the civill State, and so consequently in the whole [7] world, if the power or Empire thereof were in his hand.

*M. Cotton
by teaching
persecution
cannot but
consent to
it, &c.*

Secondly, as at that sentence divers worthy Gentlemen durst not concurre with the rest in such a course, so some that did consent, have solemnly testified, and with teares, since to my selfe confessed, that they could not in their soules have been brought to have consented to the sentence, had not Mr. Cotton in private given them advice and counsell, proving it just and warrantable to their consciences.

Mr. Cotton privately satisfied the consciences of some that questioned, Whether persecution for conscience were lawfull.

I desire to bee as charitable as charity would have me, and therefore would hope that either his memory faild him, or that else he meant that in the very time of sentence passing he neither counselled nor consented (as hee hath since said, that he withdrew himselfe and went out from the rest) probably out of that reluctance which before I mentioned; and yet if so, I cannot reconcile his owne expression: for thus hee goes on.

CHAP. V.

Mr. Cotton. Although I dare not deny the sentence passed to be righteous in the eyes of God, who hath said, that *he that withholdeth the corne* (which is the staffe of life) *from the people, the multitude shall curse him*, Prov. 11. 26. how much more shall they separate such from them, as doe withhold and separate them from the ordinances, or the ordinances from them (which are in Christ the bread of life.)

Answ. I desire to informe the Reader why it pleaseth Mr. Cotton to produce this Scripture. One of our Disputes was concerning the true Ministry appointed by the Lord Jesus. Another was con-

Pro. 11. 26. The Scripture produced by Mr. Cotton to prove

*my banishment
was lawfull,
discussed.*

cerning the fitnessse and qualification of such persons as have right (according to the rules of the Gospel) to choose and enjoy such a true Ministry of the Lord Jesus. Hence because I professed, and doe, against the office of any ministry but such as the Lord Jesus appointeth, this Scripture is produced against me.

*Mr. Cotton
satisfies all
men concern-
ing the chief
cause of my
banishment.
The word of
the Lord is
the soules corn,
yet must it be
dispensed ac-
cording to the
word of the
Lord.*

Secondly, let this be observed for satisfaction to many, who enquire into the cause of my sufferings, that it pleaseth Mr. Cotton onely to produce this Scripture for justifying the sentence as righteous in the eyes of God, implying what our chief difference was, and consequently what it was for which I chiefly suffered, to wit, concerning the true Ministry of Christ Jesus. But to the Scripture, let the people curse such [8] as hoord up corporall or spirituall corn; and let those be blessed that sell it: will it therefore follow, that either the one or the other may lawfully bee sold or bought but with the good will, consent and authority of the true owner?⁹

*To some parts
the Apostles
were forbid-
den to preach,*

Doth not even the common civill Market abhorre and curse that man, who carries to market and throws about good corn, against the owners mind and expresse command, who yet is willing and desirous it should bee sold plenteoufly, if with his consent, according to his order, and to his honest and reasonable advantage? This is the case of the true and false Ministry. Far bee it from my soules thought to stop the sweet streams of the water of life, from flowing to refresh the thirsty, or the bread

⁹ "The scope of my letter was, not but to convince the iniquitie of his separation." Cotton's Answer, p. 41.

of life from feeding hungry foules: And yet I would not, and the Lord Iesus would not that one drop or one crum, or grain should be unlawfully, disorderly, or prodigally disposed of: for, from the scorner, contradicters, despisers, persecuters, &c. the Apostles messengers of the Lord Iesus, were to turne and to shake off the dust of their feet: yea, it pleased the Spirit of the Lord to forbid the Apostles to preach at all to some places, at some times: so that the whole dispose of this spirituall corn, for the persons selling, their qualifications, commissions or callings, the quantities and qualities of the corne, the price for which, the persons to whom, the place where, and time when the great Lord of the harvest must expresse his holy will and pleasure, which must humbly and faithfully be attended on.

and from others to depart, shaking off the dust, &c.

All the Lords corn must be sold according to the Lords ordinance.

In which regard Mr. Cotton deals most partially: for would Mr. Cotton himself have preached in Old, or will hee in New England with submission but to some few ceremonies, as the selling of this spirituall corn in a white Coat, a Surplice? Did hee not rather choofe (which I mention to the Lords and Mr. Cottons honour) to have shut up his facks mouth, to have been silenced (as they call it) and imprisoned, then to sel that heavenly corn otherwise then as he was perswaded the Lord appointed? yea hath hee not in New England, refused to admit the children of godly parents to baptism, or the parents themselves unto the fellowship of the Supper, untill they came into that order which he conceived was the Order of the Lords appointing?

Mr. Cotton himself choosing rather to sell no spirituall corn, then to yeeld to some ceremonies

Againe (to descend to humane courses) doe not

*In civill
thing nothing
lawfull but
what is ac-
cording to law
and order.*

*In England
now not per-
sons fit, but
also truly au-
thorized, are
true officers.*

all civill [9] men throughout the world, forbid all building, planting, merchandizing, marrying, execution of Justice; yea, all actions of peace or warre, but by a true and right Commission, and in a right Order? Is it not, in this present storm of *Englands* forrows, one of the greatest Quæries in all the Kingdom, who are the true Officers, true Commanders, true Justices, true Commissioners; which is the true Seale? And doubtles as Truth is but One, so but the one sort is True, and ought to be submitted to, and the contrary resisted; although it should be granted that the Officers questioned and their actions were noble, excellent and beyond exception.

*The curse of
death in Isra-
el of old, is
spirituall
death, and
spirituall cut-
ting off in the
Church of
Christ, and
Christian
Israel now.*

I judge it not here seasonable to entertaine the dispute of the true power and call of Christs Ministerie: I shall only adde a word to this Scripture, as it is brought to prove a righteous sentence of Banishment on my selfe or any that plead against a false office of Ministerie. Tis true in the Nationall Church of *Israel* (the then only Church and Nation of God) he that did ought presumptuously was to be accursed and to be put to death, *Deut* 15. a figure of the spirituall putting to death an obstinate sinner in the Church of Christ, who refusing to heare the voice of Christ, is to be cut off from Christ and Christians, and to be esteemed as an Heathen, that is, a Gentile or Publican *Math.* 18. Hence consequently the not felling, or the withholding of Corne presumptuously was Death in *Israel*: But Mr. Cotton cannot prove that every wilfull withholding of Corne, in all or any State in the world, and that in time of plenty, is death: for as for Banishment, we

never heare of any such course in *Israel*. And secondly, least of all can he prove, that in all civill States of the world, that man that pleadeth against a false Ministrie, or that being able to preach Christ, and doubting of the true way of the Ministrie since the Apostacie of Antichrist dares not practise a Ministrie. Or that many excellent and worthy Gentlemen, Lawyers, Physitians and others (as well gifted in the knowledge of the Scripture, and furnished with the gifts of tongues and utterance, as most that professe the Ministry, and yet are not perswaded to sell spirituall corne, as questioning their true Calling and Commission. I say, Mr. Cotton doth not, nor will he ever prove that these or any of these ought to be put to Death or Banishment in every Land or Countrey.¹⁰ The selling 10] or withholding of spirituall corne, are both of a spirituall nature, and therefore must necessarily in a true parallell beare relation to a spirituall curse.¹¹ *Paul* wishing himselfe accursed from Christ for his Countrey mens sake (*Rom. 9.*) he spake not of any temporall death or banishment. Yet neerer, being fitly qualified and truly called by Christ to the Ministry, he cries out (*1 Cor. 9.*) *Woe to me if I preach not the Gospel:* yet did not *Paul* intend, that therefore the Roman *Nero*, or any subordinate power

Such as are excellently fitted to sell the spirituall corne of the word of the Lord, and yet find not their call to the ministry, are not to bee put to death or banished.

Spiritually offences are only liable to a spiritual curse.

Paul not to be banished or kild by Nero for not preaching the Gospel.

¹⁰ "He therefore that shall withdraw or separate the corne from the people, or the people from the corne; the people have just cause to separate either him from themselves, or themselves from him. And this proportion will hold as well in spirituall corne as bodily: the argu-

ment still Standeth unshaken." Cotton's Answer, p. 44.

¹¹ "If men hinder the enjoyment of spirituall good things, may they not be hindered from the enjoyment of that which is lesse, Carnall good things?" Cotton's Answer, p. 46.

under him in *Corinth*, should have either banished or put *Paul* to death, having committed nothing against the civill State worthy of such a civill punishment: yea and Mr. *Cotton* himselfe seemeth to question the sandines of such a ground to warrant such proceedings, for thus he goes on.

CHAP. VI.

Mr. *Cotton*. And yet it may be they passed that sentence against you, not upon that ground: but for ought I know, for your other corrupt Doctrines, which tend to the disturbance both of civill and holy peace, as may appeare by that answere which was sent to the Brethren of the Church of *Salem* and your selfe.

M. cotton himselfe ignorant of the cause of my sufferings.

I answere, it is no wonder that so many having bin demanded the cause of my sufferings have answered, that they could not tell for what, since Mr. *Cotton* himselfe knows not distinctly what cause to assigne: but saith, it may be they passed not that sentence on that ground, &c. Oh, where was the waking care of so excellent & worthy a man, to see his brother and beloved in Christ so afflicted, he knows not distinctly for what.¹²

He alleadgeth a Scripture, to prove the Sentence righteous, and yet concludeth it may be it was not

¹² "I spent a great part of the Summer in seeking by word and writing to satisfy his scruples in the former particulars; untill he rejected both our callings, and our Churches. And even then I ceased not to follow him still, with such meanes of conviction, and satisfaction in that point also, as God brought to my hand; whereof this very Letter, (which he examineth and answereth) is a pregnant and evident demonstration." Cotton's Answer, p. 47.

for that, but for other corrupt Doctrines which he nameth not, nor any Scripture to prove them corrupt, or the sentence righteous for that cause. O that it may please the Father of lights to awaken both himself and other of my honoured Countrey-men, to see how though their hearts wake (in respect of personall grace and life of Jesus) yet they sleep, insensible of much concerning the purity of the Lords worship, or the sorrows of such whom they stile Brethren, and beloved in Christ, afflicted by them.

But though he name not these corrupt Doctrines, a little before I have, as they were publikely fummed up and charged upon me, and yet none of them tending to the breach of holy [11] or civill peace, of which I have ever desired to be unfainedly tender, acknowledging the Ordinance of Magistracie to be properly and adequately fitted by God, to preserve the civill State in civill peace and order: as he hath also appointed a spirituall Government and Governours in matters pertaining to his worship and the consciences of men, both which Governments, Governours, Laws, Offences, Punishments, are Essentially distinct, and the confounding of them brings all the world into Combustion. He addes:

*Civill peace
and civill
Magistracie
blessed ordi-
nances of
God.*

CHAP. VII.

Mr. *Cotton*. And to speak freely what I think, were my soule in your soules stead, I should think it a worke of mercy of God to Banish me from the civill societie of such a Commonweale, where I could not enjoy holy fellowship with any Church

of God amongst them without sin: What should the daughter of *Sion* do in *Babel*, why should she not hasten to flee from thence?

Ans. Love bids me hope that Mr. *Cotton* here intended me a Cordiall,¹³ to revive me in my sorrows: yet if the ingredients be examined, there will appeare no lesse, then Dishonour to the name of God, Danger to every civill State, a miserable Comfort to my selfe, and contradiction within it selfe.

A land cannot be Babel, and yet a Church of Christ.

For the last first. If he call the Land *Babel* mystically (which he must needs doe or els speak not to the point, how can it be *Babel*, and yet the Church of Christ also?

Famous civill States where yet no sound of Iesus Christ.

Secondly, it is a dangerous Doctrine to affirme it a misery to live in that State where a Christian cannot enjoy the fellowship of the publike Churches of God without sinne. Do we not know many famous states wherin is known no Church of Iesus Christ? Did not God command his people to pray for the peace of the materiall Citie of *Babel* (*Jer.* 27.) and to seek the peace of it though no Church of God in *Babel*, in the form and Order of it? Or did *Sodome*, *Ægypt*, *Babel*, signifie material *Sodome*, *Egypt*, *Babel*, *Rev.* 11. 8. & 18. 4?

A true church of Iesus Christ in materiall Babylon.

There was a true Church of Iesus Christ in materiall *Babel*, (*1 Pet.* 5. 13.) Was it then a mercy for all the inhabitants of *Babel*, to have been banished, whom the Church of Iesus Christ durst not to have

¹³ "I intended not a cordiall of consolation to him, (for I did not conceive his spirit at the present prepared for it;) but I intended only a conviction, to abate

the rigour of his indignation against the dispensation of divine justice." Cotton's Answer, p. 48.

received to holy fellowship? Or was it a mercy for any person to have been banished the City, and driven to the miseries of a barbarous wilderness, him and [12] his, if some barre had layn upon his conscience, that he could not have enjoyed fellowship with the true Church of Christ?

Thirdly, for my selfe, I acknowledge it a blessed gift of God to be inabled to suffer, and so to be banished for his Names sake: and yet I doubt not to affirm, that Mr. Cotton himselfe would have counted it a mercy,¹⁴ if he might have practised in Old England what now he doth in New, with the injoyment of the civill peace, safetie and protection of the State.

Or should he dissent from the New English Churches, and joyn in worship with some other (as some few yeares since he was upon the point to doe in a separation from the Churches there as legall)¹⁵ would he count it a mercy to be pluckt up by the roots, him and his, and to endure the losses, distractions, miseries that doe attend such a condition. The truth is, both the mother and the Daughter

The mercy of a civill State distinct from mercies of a spirituall nature.

Old and New England for the Countries

¹⁴ "The question is if I could not enjoy the fellowship of publick Churches without sinne, (as in those days I could not) whether then I would account it a mercy to be removed? verily, I doe so account it, and blesse the Lord from my Soule for his abundant mercy in forcing me out thence, in so fit a season." Cotton's Answer, p. 49.

¹⁵ Mr. Cotton was at one time somewhat inclined to Antinomianism, favoring, with Governor Vane and many prominent members of the Churches, the opinions of Mrs. Hutchinson. He

in consequence had thoughts, as he himselfe states, "not of a separation from the Churches, as legall, (whom we truly embraced and honoured in the Lord) but of a removal to New Haven, as being better known to the pastor, and some others there, than to such as were at that time jealous of me here." A timely perception of Mrs. Hutchinson's errors led him to renounce her fellowship and he remained at Boston. Cotton's Answer, p. 50; Mather's Magnalia, III. 21; Knowles's Life of Roger Williams, p. 140.

and civill government incomparable.

Old and New England, for the Countries and Governments are Lands and Governments incomparable: And might it please God to persuade the mother to permit the inhabitants of New England her daughter to enjoy their conscience to God, after a particular Congregationall way, and to persuade the daughter to permit the inhabitants of the mother Old England to walke there after their conscience of a Parishionall way, (which yet neither mother nor daughter is persuaded to permit.) I conceive Mr. *Cotton* himselfe, were he seated in Old England againe, would not count it a mercy to be banished from the civil state.

Mr. Cotton not having felt the miseries of others, can see no equall judge of them.

And therefore (lastly) as he casts dishonour upon the name of God, to make him the Author of such cruell mercy, so had his soule been in my soules case, exposed to the miseries, poverties, necessities, wants debts, hardships of Sea and Land, in a banished condition; he would I presume, reach forth a more mercifull cordiall to the afflicted. But he that is despised and afflicted is like a lamp despised in the eyes of him that is at ease: *Iob.*

CHAP. VIII.

Mr. *Cotton.* Yea but he speaks not these things to adde affliction to the afflicted, but if it were the holy will of God to move me to a serious fight of my sinne, and of the justice of Gods hand against it: Against your corrupt Doctrines it pleased the Lord Jesus to fight against you with the sword of [13] his mouth, as himselfe speaketh *Rev. 2.* in the mouthes

and testimonies of the Churches & Brethren, against whom when you overhear your selfe in reasoning and disputing, against the light of his truth, it pleased him to stop your mouth by a sudden Disease, and to threaten to take breath from you: But you instead of recoiling (as even *Balaam* offered to doe in the like case) chose rather to persist in the way, and protest against all the Churches and brethren that stood in your way: and thus the good hand of Christ that should have humbled you to see and turn from the error of your way, hath rather hardned you therein, and quickned you only to see failings (yea intollerable errors) in all the Churches and brethren, rather then in your selfe.

Answer. In these lines, an humble and discerning spirit may espie: First a glorious justification and boasting of Himselfe and others concurring with him. Secondly, an unrighteous and uncharitable censure of the afflicted.

To the first I say no more, but let the light of the holy lanthorne of the word of God discover and try with whom the sword of Gods mouth (that is the testimony of the holy Scripture, for Christ, against Antichrist) abideth. And whether my self and such poore Witnesses of Jesus Christ in Old and New *England*. Low-Countries, &c. desiring in meeknes and patience to testifye the truth of Jesus, against all false callings of Ministers, &c. Or *Mr. Cotton* (however in his person holy and beloved) swimming with the stream of outward credit and profit, and smiting with the fist and sword of persecution such as dare not joyn in worship with him; *Balaam.*

The lanthorne of Gods word must alone try who fights with the sword of Gods mouth, the same word of God. Whether Mr. Cotton persecuting, or the answerer persecuted, be likest to

I say, whether of either be the Witnesses of Christ Jesus, in whose mouth is the sword of his mouth, the sword of the Spirit, the holy word of God, and whether is most like to *Balaam*?

To the second his censure. It is true, it pleased God by excesſie labours on the Lords dayes, and thrice a week at *Salem*, by labours day and night in my Field with my own hands, for the maintenance of my charge; by travells also by day and night to goe and return from their Court (and not by overheating in dispute, divers of themselves confessing publikely my moderation) it pleased God to bring me neare unto death, in which time (notwithstanding the mediating testimony of two skillfull in Physick) I was unmercifully driven from my [14] chamber to a Winters flight. During my sicknes, I humbly appeale unto the Father of Spirits for witness of the upright and constant diligent search my spirit made after him, in the examination of all passages, both my private disquisitions with all the chief of their Ministers, and publique agitations of points controverted: and what gracious fruit I reaped from that sicknes, I hope my soule shall never forget. However I mind not to number up a catalogue of the many censures upon Gods servants in the time of Gods chastisements and visitations on them, both in Scripture, History and experience. Nor retort the many evils which it pleased God to bring upon some chief procurers of my sorrows, nor upon the whole State immediately after them, which many of their own have observed and reported to me: but I commit my cause to him that judgeth

The answerers profession concerning his sicknes, which Mr. Cotton upbraids to him.

Scripture, history, experience can witness the censures upon Gods servants

Righteously, and yet resolve to pray against their *in their afflictions.*
Evils, *Pfal.* 141.

CHAP. IX.

Mr. *Cotton*. In which course though you say you doe not remember an houre, wherein the countenance of the Lord was darkned to you; yet be not deceived, it is no new thing with Sathan to transform himselfe into an Angel of light, and to cheare the soule with false peace, and with flashes of counterfeit consolation: Sad and wofull is the memorie of Mr. *Smiths* strong consolation on his death-bed, which is set as a seale to his grosse and damnable Arminianisme, and Enthusiasme delivered in the confession of his Faith,¹⁶ prefixed to the Storie of his life and death. *The countenance of God is upon his people when they feare him*, not when they presume of their own strength and his consolations are not found in the way of presidence and error, but in the wayes of humilitie and truth.

Ans. To that part which concerns my selfe,

¹⁶ This confession may be found in Crosby's History of the English Baptists, vol. 2, Appendix, No. 1. The "Story of his life and death" however we have not been able to find. Neither Crosby nor Taylor nor Ivimey make any allusion to it in their works. The Rev. John Smith, or Smyth as the name is more commonly written, was one of the disciples of Robert Brown from whom the Brownists derived their name. He had previously been a beneficed minister in the Church of England, at Gainsborough, in Lincolnshire. Being harassed by the High

Commission Court he removed, in 1606, with Mr. Robinson, Mr. Clifton and others, to Holland, and settled at Amsterdam. Here he was led to adopt Baptist sentiments, and to found a Baptist Church, in consequence of which, he was treated by the other ministers of the separation with great asperity. From expressions quoted by Ivimey and Taylor, from Bishop Hall and other writers, it is evident that Mr. Smyth was considered a person of great consequence in his day, and that his disciples were numerous. He died about the year 1610.

the speech hath reference either to the matter of justification, or else matter of my affliction for Christ, of both which I remember I have had discourse.

A soule at peace with God may yet endure great combats concerning sanctification.

For the first I have exprest in some conference (as Mr. Cotton himselfe hath also related concerning some, with whom I am not worthy to be named) that after first manifestations of the countenance of God, reconciled in the blood of his Son unto my soule, my questions and trouble have not been concerning my reconciliation and peace with God, but concerning sanctification [15] and fellowship with the holines of God, in which respect I desire to cry (with *Paul*) in the bitternes of my spirit, *O wretched man that I am, who shall deliver me from the body of this death!*

Affliction for Christ sweet.

Secondly, it may have reference to some conference concerning affliction for his Names sake, in which respect I desire to acknowledge the faithfullnes of his word and promise, *to be with his in 6 troubles and in 7, through fire and water*, making good 100 fold with persecution, to such of his servants as suffer ought for his names sake: and I have said and must say, and all Gods witnesses that have borne any paine or losse for Jesus, must say, that fellowship with the Lord Jesus in his sufferings is sweeter then all the fellowship with sinners, in all the profits, honours, and pleasures of this present evill world. And yet 2 things I desire to speak to all men and my selfe, *Let every man prove his worke*, Gal. 6. *and then shall he have rejoycing in himselfe, and not in another.* Secondly, if any man love God, that soule knows God, or rather is known

Two cautions for any in persecution for conscience.

of God (1 Cor. 8.) Selfe-love may burn the bodie, but happy only he whose love alone to Christ constrains him to be like unto him, and suffer with him.

To that which concerneth Mr. *Smith*, although I knew him not, and have heard of many points, in which my conscience tells me, it pleased the Lord to leave him to himselfe; yet I have also heard by some (whose testimonie Mr. *Cotton* will not easilie refuse) that he was a man fearing God:¹⁷ and I am sure Mr. *Cotton* hath made some use of those principles and arguments on which Mr. *Smith* and others went, concerning the constitution of the Christian Church. The infinite compassions of God, which lay no sin to *Davids* charge but the sin of *Vriiah* , 1 King. 15. have graciously comforted the soules of his on their death-bed, accepting and crowning their *uprightnes* and *faithfullnes* , and passing by what otherwise is grievous and offensive to him. And indeed from the due consideration of that instance, it appears that no sin is comparably so grievous in *Gods Davids* , as a treacherous slaughter of the *faithfull* , whom we are forced to call *beloved in Christ* : That opinion in Mr. *Cotton* or any, is the most grievous to God or man, and not comparable to any that ever Mr. *Smith* could be charged with. It is true, the countenance and consolations of God are

*Mr. Smith
godly, and a
light to Mr.
Cotton and
others though
left to himself
in some
things.*

*Gods infinite
compassions
toward those
whose hearts
are upright
with him*

*The opinion
of putting
Vriiah to
death, the
 vilest of all
opinions.*

¹⁷ "As for Master Smith he standeth and falleth to his own Master; whilst he was preacher to the citie of Lincolne, he wrought with God then; what temptations befell him after, by the evill workings of evill men, and some good men too, I choose rather to tremble at than discourse of. If I had made use of his

principles, and arguments, (as this Examiner saith I have) it is more than my selfe know; for I have not been acquainted with sundry of his writings, as being discouraged with that one, wherein he maketh originall sinne an idle name." Cotton's Answer, p. 58.

As the weights of the sanctuary were double, so must there bee double pondering in all the affairs of Gods worship. found [16] in the wayes of humilitie and truth, and Sathan transformeth him like to an Angel of light in a counterfeit of both: In which respect I desire to worke out salvation with feare and trembling, and to doe nothing in the affaires of God and his Worship, but (like the weights of the Sanctuarie) with double care, diligence and consideration, above all the affaires of this vanishing life. And yet *Christs consolations* are so sweet, that the soule that tasteth them in truth, in suffering for any truth of his, will not easily part with them, though thousands are deceiv'd and deluded with counterfeits.

CHAP. X.

Mr. Cotton. Two stumbling blocks (I perceive) have turned you off from Fellowship with us. First the want of fit matter of our Church. Secondly, disrespect of the Separate Churches in *England* under affliction, our selves practising Separation in peace.

For the first, you acknowledge, as you say, with joy, that godly persons are the visible members of these *Churches*, but yet you see not that godly persons are matter fitted to constitute a *Church*, no more then Trees or Quarries are fit matter proportioned to the building. This exception seemeth to me to imply a contradiction to it selfe, for if the matter of the *Churches* be as you say godly persons, they are not then as Trees unfeld, and Stones unhewen: godlinesse cutteth men downe from the former root and heweth them out of the pit of corrupt nature, and fitteth them for fellowship with *Christ*, and with his people.

You object, first, *a necessity lying upon godly men before they can be fit matter for Church fellowship, to see, bewaile, repent, and come out of the false churches, worship, ministry, government, according to Scriptures Isa. 62. 11. 2 Cor. 6. 17. and this is to be done not by a locall removall or contrary practise, but by a deliverance of the soule, understanding, will, judgement and affection.*

Ans. First we grant that it is not locall removall from former pollution, nor contrary practise, that fitteth us for fellowship with Christ, and his Church, but thas it is necessary also that we repent of such former pollutions wherewith we have been defiled and intralled.

We grant further, that it is likewise necessary to Church fellowship, we should see and discern all such pollutions, as do [17] so farre intrall us to Antichrist as to separate us from Christ: But this we professe unto you, that wherin we have reformed our practice, therein have we endeavoured unfeignedly to humble our soules for our former contrary walking: if any through hypocrisie are wanting herein, the hidden hypocrisie of some will not prejudice the sinceritie and faithfullnesse of others, nor the Church estate of all.

Ans. That which requireth Answer in this passage, is a charge of a seeming contradiction, to wit, *That persons may be godly, and yet not fitted for Church estate, but remaine as Trees and Quarries unfeld, &c.* Contrary to which it is affirmed, *that godly persons cannot be so intralled to Antichrist, as to separate them from Christ.*

For the clearing of which let the word of Truth be rightly divided, and a right distinction of things applyed, there will appeare nothing contradictorie, but cleare and satisfactorie to each mans conscience.

*The state of
godly persons
in grosse sins.*

First then I distinguish of a godly person thus: In some acts of sin which a godly person may fall into, during those acts, although before the all searching and tender eye of God, and also in the eyes of such as are godly, such a person remaineth still godly, yet to the eye of the world externally such a person seemeth ungodly, and a sinner. Thus *Noah* in his Drunkenesse; thus *Abraham*, *Lot*, *Samson*, *Job*, *David*, *Peter*, in their lying whoredomes, cursings, Murther, denying and forswearing of Christ Jesus, although they lost not their inward sap and root of life, yet suffred they a decay and

*Godly persons
falling into
grosse sins,
are to ex-
presse repent-
ance before
they can be
admitted to
the church.*

fall of lease, and the shew of bad and evil Trees. In such a case Mr. Cotton will not deny that a godly person falling into drunkennes, whoredome, deliberate murther, denying and forswearing of Christ, the Church of Christ cannot receive such persons into Church-fellowship, before their sight of humble bewailing and confessing of such evils, notwithstanding that love may conceive there is a root of godlines within.

*Gods children
long asleep in
respect of
Gods worship,
though alive
in the grace
of Christ.*

Secondly Gods children (*Cant. 5.*) notwithstanding a principle of spiriuall life in their soules, yet are lul'd into a long continued sleep in the matters of Gods worship: *I sleep, though my heart waketh.* The heart is awake in spirituall life and grace, as concerning personall union to the Lord Jesus, and conscionable endeavours to please him in what the

heart is convinced: [18] yet asleep in respect of abundant ignorance and negligence, and consequently grosse abominations and pollutions of Worship, in which the choicest servants of God, and most faithfull Witnesses of many truths have lived in more or lesse, yea in maine and fundamentall points, ever since the Apostacie.

Not to instance in all, but in some particulars which Mr. Cotton hath in new *England* reformed. I earnestly beseech himself & all, wel to ponder how far he himself now professeth to see, and practice, that which so many thousands of godly persons of high note in all ages (since the Apostacie) saw not: As

Mr. Cotton now professes to practise what thousands of Gods people for many ages have not seen.

First concerning the nature of a particular Church, to consist only of holy and godly persons.

Secondly, of a true Ministrie called by that Church.

Thirdly, a true Worship free from Ceremonies, Common-Prayer, &c.

Fourthly, a true Government in the hands only of such Governours and Elders, as are appointed by the Lord Jesus. Hence Gods people not seeing their Captivitie in these points, must first necessarily be inlightened and called out from such Captivitie, before they can be nextly fitted and prepared for the true Church, Worship, Ministrie &c.

CHAP. XI.

Secondly, this will be more cleare if wee consider Gods people and Church of old the Jewes, captivated in materiall Babel, they could not possibly build Gods Altar and Temple at Jerusalem, untill

The Jewes of old in the type could not build the Altar and Tem-

ple in Babel, the yoke and bonds of their captivity were broke, but first they must come and they set free to return with the vessels of the Lords house, to set up his worship in Jerufalem, as we see in the Bookes of *Ezra*, *Nebemia*, *Daniel*, *Haggai*, &c. Hence in the Antitype, Gods people the spiritual and mysticall Jewes, cannot possibly erect the Altar of the Lords true worship, and build the Temple of his true Church, without a true sight of their spirituall bondage in respect of Gods worship, and a power and strength from Jesus Christ to bring them out, and carry them through all difficulties in so mighty a work. And as the being of Gods people in materiall Babell, and a necessity of their comming forth before they could build the Temple, did not in the least deny them to be Gods people: no more now doth Gods people being in mystical Babel (*Rev.* 18) [19] nor the necessity of their comming forth, hinder or deny the godlinesse of their persons, or spirituall life within them.

Thirdly, how many famous servants of God, and witnesses of Jesus lived and died and were burnt for other truths of Jesus, not seeing the evill of their Antichristian calling of Bishops, &c. How did famous *Luther* himself continue a Monk, set forth the German Masse, acknowledge the Pope, and held other grosse abominations concerning Gods worship, notwithstanding the life of Christ Jesus in him, and wrought in thousands by his means.

Fourthly, *Mr. Cotton* must be requested to remember his own practice (as before) how doth he refuse to receive persons eminent for personal grace and godlinesse, to the Lords Supper, & other privileges

ple in Babel,
but first they
must come
forth, & then
build at Ieru-
salem.

Gods mystical
Israel in the
Antitype must
also come
forth of Babel
before they
can build the
Temple at
Ierusalem.

Luther and
other famous
witnesses every
grosse concern-
ing Gods
worship,
though emi-
nent for per-
sonall grace.

Mr. Cotton
refuseth godly
persons ex-
cept they bee
convinced of

of Christians (according to the profession of their Church estate) until they be convinced of the necessity of making & entring into a Church covenant with them, with a confession of faith, &c. and if any cannot be perswaded of such a covenant and confession (notwithstanding their godlinesse, yet) are they not admitted.¹⁸

Lastly, how famous is that passage of that solemne question put to Mr. Cotton and the rest of the new English Elders; by divers of the ministers of old England (eminent for personall godlinesse, as Mr. Cotton acknowledgeth) viz. Whether they might be permitted in new England to enjoy their consciences in a Church estate different from the New English: unto which Mr. Cotton and the New English Elders returne a plain negative, in effect thus much, with the acknowledgment of their worth and godlines above their owne, and their hopes of agreement; ^{Mr. Cotton & the English Elders refuse to permit eminent Ministers & people of Old England to live in New England (notwithstanding hee confesseth their godlines above his own) if they joyn not in his Church-fellowship.} Yet in conclusion, if they agree not, (which they are not like to doe) and submit to that way of Church-fellowship and Worship which in New England is set up, they can not only not enjoy Church-fellowship together, but not permit them to live and breath in the same Aire and Commonweale together, which was my case; although it pleased Mr. Cotton and others most incensed, to give

¹⁸ "It is not because I thinke such persons are not fit matter for Church-estate; but because they yet want a fit forme, requisite to Church-estate." Cotton's Answer, p. 63.

¹⁹ "The answer to that question, and to all the other thirty-two questions, were drawne up by Mr. Madder, and nei ther

drawne up nor sent by me, nor (for ought I know) by the other elders here, though published by one of our elders there. However, the substance of that answer (not which Mr. Williams rehearseth, but which Mr. Madder returned) doth generally suite with all our minds, as I conceive." Cotton's Answer, p. 63.

my selfe a testimony of *godlines*, &c.²⁰ And this is the reason, why although I confesse with joy the care of the New English Churches, that no person be received to Fellowship with them, in whom they cannot first discern true Regeneration, and the life of Jesus: yet I said and still affirm, that godlie and regenerate persons [20] (according to all the former instances and reasons) are not fitted to constitute the true Christian Church, untill it hath pleased God to convince their soules of the evill of the false Church, Ministry, Worship, &c. And although I confesse that godly persons are not dead but living Trees, not dead, but living Stones, and need no new Regeneration (and so in that respect need no felling nor digging out) yet need they a mighty worke of Gods Spirit to humble and ashame them, and to cause them to loath themselves for their Abominations or stincks in Gods nostrils (as it pleaseth Gods Spirit to speak of false Worships:) Hence *Ezek.* 43. 11. Gods people are not fit for Gods House, untill holy shame be wrought in them, for what they have done. Hence God promiseth to cause them to *loath themselves*, because they have broken him with their whorish hearts, *Ezek.* 6. 9. And hence it is that I have known some precious godly hearts confesse, that the plucking of their souls out from the Abominations of false worship, hath been a second kind of Regeneration. Hence was it that it pleased God to say concerning his

Godly persons living trees & living stones, yet need much hewing and cutting to bring them from false to true worship.

The coming forth of false worship a second kind (as it were) of regeneration to Gods people.

²⁰ "Neither doe I remember that he hath any cause to say that I gave him a testimony of godlinesse. For his godli-

nesse, I leave it to him who is the searcher of hearts; I neither attested it, nor denied it." Cotton's Answer, p. 65.

peoples returne from their Materiall Captivitie (a figure of our Spirituall and mysticall) *that they should not say Jehovah liveth, who brought them from the land of Egypt* (a type of first conversion as is conceived) *but Jehovah liveth who brings them from the land of the North* (a type of Gods peoples return from spirituall bondage to confused and invented Worships.) Return from the land of the North.

CHAP. XII.

Now wheras Mr. *Cotton* addeth, That godly persons are not so intrall'd to Antichrist as to separate them from Christ, else they could not be godly persons.

I answer, this comes not neare our Question, which is not concerning personal godlines or grace of Christ, but the godlines or Christianitie of Worship. Hence the Scripture holds forth Christ Jesus first personally, as that God-Man, that One Mediatour between God and man, the *Man* Christ Jesus, whom all Gods people by Faith receive, and in receiving become the Sons of God, *John* 1. 12. although they yet see not the particular wayes of his Worship. Thus was it with the Centurion, the Woman of *Canaan*, *Cornelius*, and most, at their first conversion. Christ considered two wayes, first, personally, & so Gods people can never bee separated from him.

Secondly, the Scripture holdeth forth Christ as Head of his [21] Church, formed into a Body of worshippers, in which respect the Church is called *Christ*, *1 Cor* 12. 12. and the description of *Christ* is admirably set forth in 10 severall parts of a mans Secondly, as head of his Church, and so he is often lost and ab-

sent from his Spouse. bodie, fitting and suiting to the visible profession of Christ in the Church *Cant.* 5.

Now in the former respect Antichrist can never so intral Gods people as to separate them from Christ, that is, from the life and grace of Christ, although he intrall them into never so grosse Abominations concerning Worship: for God will not loose His in *Egypt, Sodome, Babel*, His Jewels are most precious to him though in a Babilonish dunghill, and his Lillie sweet and lovely in the Wildernes commixt with Briars. Yet in the second respect, as Christ is taken for the church, I conceive that Antichrist may separate Gods people from Christ, that is from Christs true visible Church and Worship. This Mr. Cotton himselve will not deny if he remember how little a while it is since the falsehood of a National, Provincial, Diocesane and Parishionall Church, &c. and the truth of a particular Congregation, consisting only of holy persons appeared unto him.

The Church before Luther. The Papists Question to the Protestant *viz. Where was your Church before Luther?* is thus well answered, to wit, That since the Apostacie, Truth, and the *holy city* (according to the Prophecie *Revel.* 11 & 13.) have been troden under foot, and the *whole earth* hath wondred after the Beast: yet God hath stir'd up Witnesses to Prophecie in Sackcloth against the Beast, during his *42 moneths reigne*: yet those Witnesses have in their Times, more or lesse submitted to Antichrist, and his Church, Worship, Ministrie, &c. and so consequently have been ignorant of the *true* Christ, that is, Christ taken for the

Church in the true profession of that holy Way of Worship, which he himselfe at first appointed.

CHAP. XIII.

Mr. *Cotton*. Secondly, we deny that it is necessary to Church fellowship (that is so necessary that without it a Church cannot be) that the Members admitted thereunto should all of them see and expressly bewaile all the Pollutions which they have been defiled with in the former Church-fellowship, Ministry, Worship, Government, &c. if they see and bewaile so much of their former pollutions, as did intrall them to Antichrist, [22] so as to separate them from Christ, and be readie in preparation of heart, as they shall see more Light, so to hate more and more every false way; we conceive it is as much as is necessarily required to separate them from Antichrist, and to fellowship with Christ and his Churches. The Church of Christ admitted many thousand Jewes that beleevd on the name of Christ, although they were still zealous of the Law, and saw not the beggarly emptines of *Moses* his ceremonies, *Acts* 21. 20. and the Apostle *Paul* directeth the Romans to receive such unto them as are weake in the faith, and see not their libertie from the servile difference of Meats and Dayes, but still lie under the bondage of the Law; yea he wisheth them to receive such upon this ground, *because Christ hath received them*, *Rom.* 14. to the sixt.

Say not there is not the like danger of lying under bondage to *Moses* as to Antichrist, for even the

bondage under *Moses* was such, as if continued in after instruction and conviction, would separate them from *Christ*, Gal. 5. 2. and bondage under *Anti-christ* could doe no more.

Ans. Here I desire 3. things may be observed :

Mr. Cotton confessing the true and false constitution of the church. First *Mr. Cottons* own confession of that two-fold Church estate, worship, &c. the former false, or else why to be so bewailed and forsaken; the second true, to be imbraced and submitted to.

Mr. Cotton confessing to hold what he censureth in the answer. Secondly, his own confession of that which a little before he would make so odious in me to hold, viz. that Gods people may be so farre intralled to *Anti-christ*, as to separate them from *Christ*: for faith he, If they see and bewaile so much of their former pollutions, as did intrall them to *Antichrist*, so as to separate them from *Christ*.²¹

Fallacie in Mr. Cottons generals. Thirdly I observe how easilie a soule may wander in his generalls, for thus he writes, Though they see not *all the pollutions* wherewith they have been defiled in the former Church-fellowship. Again, if they see so much as did intrall them to *Anti-christ*, and separate them from *Christ*. And yet he expresleth nothing of that *all the pollutions*, nor what *fallacie in Mr. Cottons generals.* *A godly person remaining a member of a false Church, so much* is as will separate them from *Christ*. Hence

²¹ "My words out of which he gathereth this observation, are misreported; and the contradiction ariseth from his misreport, not from my words. For God's people and godly persons are not all one. Any Church members may be called God's people, as being in externall covenant with him, (Psal. 81 : 11.) and yet they are not always godly persons. God's people may be so enthralled to

Anti-christ, as to separate them utterly from *Christ*, both as head of the visible and invisible church also. But godly persons cannot be so enthralled to *Anti-christ* as to separate them from *Christ*, as the head of the invisible Church; though, as I said before, they may be separated from him, as the head of the visible Church." Cotton's Answer, p. 71.

upon that former distinction that Christ in visible Worship is Christ: I demaund, Whether if a godly person remaine a member of a falsly constituted Church, and so consequently (in that respect) [23] of a false Christ, whether in visible worship he be not separate from the true Christ?

Secondly, I aske, Whether it be not absolutely necessary to his uniting with the true Church, that is, with Christ in true Christian Worship, that he see and bewaile, and absolutely come out from that former false Church or Christ, and his Ministrie, &c. before he can be united to the true Israel, must come forth of Egypt before they can sacrifice to God in the Wildernes. The Jewes come out of *Babel* before they build the Temple in *Ierusalem*: The husband of a woman die, or she be legally divorced, before she can lawfully be married to another; the graft cut off from one, before it can be ingrafted into another stock: The Kingdome of Christ, (that is the Kingdome of the Saints, *Dan. 2. & 7.*) is cut out of the mountain of the Romane Monarchie. Thus the Corinthians 1 *Cor. 6. 9, 10, 11.* uniting with Christ Jesus, they were washed from their Idolatrie, as well as other sins: Thus the Theffalonians turned from their Idols before they could serve the living and true God, 1 *Theff. 1. 9.* and as in Paganisme, so in Antichristianisme, which separates as certainly (though more subtilly) from Christ Jesu.

is therein a member of a false Christ.

Separation from false Christ absolutely necessary before there can be union to the true.

A sequestration or separation of the soul from the world in the idolatrous and invented worships of it before it can be presented to Christ Jesus, as a chaste virgin into the chaste bed of his owne most holy institutions.

CHAP. XIV.

Difference between Gods own holy institutions to the Jewes, and Satans Paganish or Antichristian institution to the Gentiles, as concerning the manner of coming forth of them.

Yea but it is said, that Jewes weake in Christian liberties, and zealous for *Moses* Law they were to be received.

I answer, 2 things must here carefully be minded: First although bondage to *Moses* would separate from Christ, yet the difference must be observed between those Ordinances of *Moses* which it pleased God himselfe to ordain and appoint, as his then only Worship in the world, though now in the coming of his Son, he was pleased to take away, yet with solemnitie; and on the other side the Institutions and Ordinances of Antichrist, which the Devill himselfe invented, were from first to last never to be received and submitted to one moment, nor with such solemnitie to be laid down, but to be abhor'd and abominated for ever.

A comparison between the Jewish and Christian ordinances.

The Nationall Church of the Jewes, with all the shadowish typicall Ordinances of Kings, Priests, Prophets, Temple, Sacrifices were as a silver candlestick, on which the light of the Knowledge of God and of the Lord Jesus in the type and shadow was set up shined. That Silver Candlestick it pleased [24] the most holy and only wise to take away, and in stead therof to set up the Golden Candlesticks of particular Churches (*Revel. 1.*) by the hand of the Son of God himselfe: Now the first was *silver* (the pure will and mind of God, but intended only for a season :) the second of a more *precious lasting* nature, *a Kingdome not to be shaken* (that is abolished as the former) *Heb. 12. 28.*

Therefore Secondly, observe the difference of Time (which Mr. Cotton himselfe confesseth) after Instruction and Conviction (saith he) *Moses* Law was deadly and would separate from Christ, therefore, there was a time when they were not deadly, and did not separate from Christ, to wit untill *Moses* was honourably fallen asleep, and lamented for (as I conceive) in the type and figure 30. dayes (*Deut.* 34.) Therefore at one season (not for *Timothies* weake conscience, but for the Jews sake) *Paul* circumcised *Timothy*: at another time when the Jews had sufficient instruction, and obstinately would be circumcised, and that necessarily to salvation, *Paul* seasonably cries out, that *if they were circumcised* *Christ should profit them nothing*, Gal. 5. Hence the Christians at *Ephesus* conversed with the Jewish Synagogue, untill the Jews contradicted and blasphemed, and then were speedilie separate by *Paul*, Acts 19. But to apply *Paul* observed a Vow, and the ceremonies of it, circumcised *Timothy*, &c. may therefore a messenger of *Christ* now (as *Paul*) goe to *Masse*, pray to Saints; perform pennance, keep christmas and other Popish Feasts and Fasts, &c.

Againe, is there such a time allowed to any man, uniting or adding himselfe to the true Church now, to observe the unholy holy dayes of Feasting and Fasting invented by Antichrist? yea and (as *Paul* did circumcision) to practise the Popish Sacraments? I doubt not, but if any member of a true Church or assembly of Worshippers, shall fall to any Paganish or Popish practise, he must be instructed and convinced, before Excommunication: but the Quef-

Moses ordinances at one time pretious and holy, at another time beggarly and deadly.

The first Christians communicated in the Jewish Synagogues until the Jews contradicted & spoke evill, &c. then they separated.

A member of a true Church falling into any idolatrous practice, not presently to

be excommunicated.

tion is, Whether still observing and so practising, a person may be received to the true Christian Church, as the Jewes were, although they yet practised *Moses* ceremonies.

Not one degree of fight of, or sorrow for Antichristian abominations, yet a necessity of cutting off from the false before union to the true Church, Ministry, worship, &c.

These things duly pondred (in the feare and presence of God) it will appeare how vain the allegation is, from that tender and honourable respect to Gods Ordinances now vanishing [25] from the Jewes, and their weake consciences about the same, to prove the same tendernes to Sathans inventions, and the consciences of men in the renouncing of Paganicall, Turkish, Antichristian; yea and I adde Judaical Worships now, when once the time of their full vanishing was come.

To conclude, although I prescribe not such a measure of fight of, or sorrow for Antichristian Abominations (I speake in respect of degrees, which it pleaseth the *Father of Lights* to dispence variously to one more, to another lesse) yet I beleeve it absolutely necessary to see and bewaile so much as may amount to cut off the soule from the false Church (whether National, Parishional, or any other falsly constituted Church) Ministrie, Worship and Government of it.

CHAP. XV.

Mr. Cotton. Anf. 3. To places of Scripture which you object, *Isa.* 52. 11. *2 Cor.* 6. 17. *Revel.* 18. 4. We answere, two of them makes nothing to your purpose: for that of *Isaiab*, and the other of the *Revelation*, speake of locall separation, which your selfe know we have made, and yet you say, you doe

not apprehend that to be sufficient. As for that place of the Corinthians, it only requireth comming out from Idolaters in the Fellowship of their Idolatry. No mariages were they to make with them, no Feasts were they to hold with them in the Idolls Temple; no intimate familiaritie were they to maintaine with them, nor any Fellowship were they to keep with them in the unfruitfull works of darknes, and this is all which that place requireth. But what makes all this to prove, that we may not receive such persons to Church fellowship, as your selfe confesse to be godly, and who doe professedly renounce and bewail all known sin and would renounce more if they knew more, although it may be they do not see the utmost skirts of all that pollution they have somtimes been defiled with; as the Patriarchs saw not the pollution of their Poligamie: But that you may plainly see this place is wrested beside the Apostles scope, when you argue from it, that such persons are not fit matter for Church fellowship, as are defiled with any remnants of Antichristian pollution, nor such Churches any more to be accounted Churches, as do receive such amongst them. Consider I pray you, were there not at that time in the Church of Corinth, such as partook with the [26] Idolaters in the Idolls temple? And was not this the touching of an uncleane thing? And did this sin reject these members from Church fellowship before conviction? Or did it evacuate their Church estate for not casting out such members?

Ans. The Scriptures or *writings of truth* are those heavenly righteous *scales*, wherin all our contraver-

fies must be tried, and that blessed Starre that leads all those *soules* to Jesus that seek him. But faith Mr. Cotton two of those Scriptures alledged by me (*Isa. 52. 11. Revel. 18. 4.* which I brought to prove a *necessitie* of leaving the false, before a joyning to the true Church) they speake of *locall separation*, which (faith he) your selfe know we have made.

Mr. Cotton cannot make both comings forth of Babel both in the Type and Antitype to bee locall.

For that *locall* and typical separation from *Babylon*, *Isa. 52.* I could not well have beleaved that Mr. Cotton or any would make that comming forth of *Babel* in the antitype, *Rev. 18 4.* to be *locall* and *materiall* also. What civill State, Nation or Countrey in the world, in the antitype, must now be called *Babel*? certainly, if any, then *Babel* it selfe properly so called: but there we find (as before) a true Church of Jesus Christ, *1 Pet. 5.*

If a locall Babel, then also now a locall Iudea and Temple, &c. Come out of Babel not materiall, but mysticall.

Secondly, if *Babel* be *locall* now, whence Gods people are called, then must there be a locall *Iudea*, a Land of *Canaan* also, into which they are called; and where shall both that *Babel* and *Canaan* be found in all the commings forth that have been made from the Church of *Rome* in these last times? But Mr. Cotton having made a locall departure from *Old England* in *Europe*, to *New England* in *America*, can he satisfie his owne soule, or the soules of other men, that he hath obeyed that voice, *come out of Babel my people, partake not of her sins, &c.* Doth he count the very Land of *England* literally *Babel*, and so consequently *Ægypt* and *Sodome*, *Revel. 11. 8.* and the Land of new *England* *Judea*, *Canaan*? &c.

The Lord Jesus hath broken down the difference of places and persons.

The Lord Jesus (*John 4.*) clearly breaks down all difference of *places*, and *Aëtis 10.* all difference of

persons; and for my selfe, I acknowledge the Land of England, the civill Laws, Government and people of England, not to be inferiour to any under heaven. Only 2 things I shall humbly suggest unto my deare Countrymen (whether more *high* and *honourable* at the *helme* of Government, or more inferiour, who *labour* and *saile* in this famous Ship of Englands Common Wealth) as the greatest 27] *causes, fountaines and top roots* of all the Indignation of the most High, against the State and Countrey: First that the whole Nation and Generations of Men have been forced (though unregenerate and unrepentant) to pretend and assume the name of Christ Jesus, which only belongs, according to the Institution of the Lord Jesus, to truly regenerate and repenting soules. Secondly, that all others *dissenting* from them, whether Jewes or Gentiles, their Countrymen especially (for strangers have a Libertie) have not been permitted *civill cobabitation* in this world with them, but have been *distressed* and *persecuted* by them.²²

2 Chiefest causes of Gods indignation against England.

These two particulars I should be humbly ready to make proof of.

But to returne, the summe of my Contraverſie with Mr. Cotton is, Whether or no that false Worshipping of the *true God*, be not only a *spirituall* *guilt* liable to Gods sentence and plagues, but also an *habit*, frequently compared in the Prophets, and

The soules captivity to false worship is not locall, but a

²² "The two causes of God's indignation against England, which he suggesteth are worthy due consideration and attention. I would rather say amen to them, than weaken the weight of them. Only I should so assent to the letter as not to move for a toleration of all Dissenters. Dissenters in fundamentalls, and that out

of obstinacy against conscience and seducers, to the perdition of soules, and to the disturbance of civill and church peace; but only of such Dissenters as vary either in matters of lesse weight, or of fundamentall, yet not out of wilfull obstinacy, but out of tenderesse of conscience." Cotton's Answer, p. 89.

guilt, and not only so, but an habit or disposition of spiritual sleep whoredome, drunkenesse, &c. Rev. 17. to a spirit and disposition of spiritual drunkenesse and whoredome, a soule sleep and a soule sicknesse: So that as by the change of a chaire, chamber or bed, a sick or sleepe man, whore or drunkard are not changed, but they remaine the same still, untill that disposition of sicknes, sleepe-nesse drunkennes, whoredome be put off, and a new habit of spirituall health, watchfullnes, sobrietie, chastitie be put on.

CHAP. XVI.

Now concerning that Scripture, 2 Cor. 6. Mr. Cotton here confesseth it holdeth forth 5. things: That the repenting Corinthians were called out in from the unrepenting:

First, in the Fellowship of their Idolatrie.

2. From making Mariages with them.

3. From Feasting in their Idols temples.

4. From intimate Familiaritie with them.

The benefites of the repenting English, their coming forth from the impenitent English in those former 5 particulars mentioned by Mr. Cotton. 5. From all Fellowship in the *unfruitfull works of darknes.*

Ans. If regenerate and truely repenting English thus come forth from the unregenerate and unrepenting, how would the name of the Lord Jesus be sanctified, the jealousy of the Lord pacified, their own soules cleansed, judgements prevented, yea and one good meanes practised toward the convincing and saving of the soules of such, from whom in these particulars they depart, and dare not have Fellowship with: especially when in all civill things they walke unblameably in quiet and helpfull cohab-

itation, righteous and faithfull dealing, and chear-28] full submission to civill Lawes, Orders, Levies, Customes, &c.

Yea but Mr. *Cotton* demands, What makes all this to prove that godly persons who professedly renounce all *known* sinne, may not be received to Church fellowship, although they see not the utmost skirts of their Pollution, as the Patriarchs saw not the pollution of their Poligamie.

Ans. I repeat the former distinction of godly persons, who possibly may live in ungodly practices (especially of false worship) and then according to Mr. *Cottons* own interpretation of this place to the *Corinthians*, they come not forth. And I adde, if there be any voice of Christ in the mouthes of his Witnesses against these sinnes, they are not then of Ignorance, but of Negligence, and *spirituall hardnes*, against the wayes of Gods feare, against *Isa.* 63. &c.

Moreover, our question is not of the *utmost skirts* of Pollution, but the substance of a true or false Bed of Worship *Cant.* 1. 16. in respect of coming out of the *false*, before the entrance into the *true*. And yet I beleve that Mr. *Cotton* being to receive a person to Church fellowship, who formerly hath been infamous for corporall Whoredome, he would not give his consent to receive such an one, without found Repentance for the filthines of her skirts (*Lament.* 1.) not only in actuall whoredomes, but also in whorish Speeches, Gestures, Appearances, Provocation. And why should there be a greater strictnes for the skirts of common whoredom, then of *spiritual* & *soul* Whoredome, against the chastitie

The sins of Gods people are sometimes reputed to be of ignorance, when they are of negligence, and yet ignorance excuseth not wholly.

A case put to Mr. Cotton.

No cause of more shame fr whoredome against an husbands bed, then against the bed

*of Gods wor-
ship.*

*The case of
Polygamy, or
many wives of
the Fathers.*

of Gods Worship? And therefore to that instance of the Fathers Poligamie, I answer: First by observing what great sins godly persons may possibly live and long continue in, notwithstanding godlinesse in the root. Secondly I aske if any person, of whose godlines Mr. *Cot.* hath had long perswasion, should beleve and maintaine (as questionles the Fathers had grounds satisfying their consciences for what they did) that he ought to have many Wives, and accordingly so practised; I say, I aske whether Mr. *Cotton* would receive such a godly person to Church fellowship? yea I aske whether the Church of the Jewes (had they seen this evill) would have received such a Profelite from the Gentiles, and when it was seen, whether any persons so practising would have been suffred amongst them: But lastly, what was 29] this personall sinne of these godly persons? was it any matter of Gods worship, any joyning with a false Church, Ministry, Worship, Government, from whence they were to come, before they could constitute his true Church, and enjoy his Worship, Ministry, Government, &c.

Mr. *Cotton* concludeth this passage thus, The Church of *Corinth* had such as partook with Idolaters in their Idolls temple, and was not this (saith he) *touching of an uncleane thing*, and did this reject these members from Church fellowship before conviction; and did it evacuate their Church estate, for not casting out of such members?

Ans. This was an uncleane thing indeed, from which God calls his people in this place, with glorious promises of receiving them: and Mr. *Cotton*

confesseth that after conviction, any member obstinate in these unclean touches, ought to be rejected, for, saith he, did this sin reject these members from Church fellowship before conviction?

And upon the same ground that one obstinate person ought to be rejected out of Church estate, upon the same ground, if a greater company or Church were obstinate in such unclean touches, and so consequently in a rebellion against Christ, ought every sound Christian Church to reject them, and every sound member to withdraw from them.

And hence further it is cleare, that if such unclean touches obstinately maintained (as Mr. Cotton confesseth and practiseth) be a ground of rejection of a person in the Church, questionlesse it is a ground of rejection when such persons are to joyne unto the Church. And if obstinacie in the whole Church after conviction be a ground for such a Churches rejection, questionlesse such a Church or number of persons obstinate in such evils, cannot congregare nor become a true constituted Church of Jesus Christ.

The greatest question here would be, Whether the *Corinthians* in their first constitution were separate or no, from such Idoll Temples? and this Mr. Cotton neither doth nor can deny; a Church estate being a state of mariage unto Jesus Christ, and so Paul professedly saith, he had espoused them as a chaste virgin to Christ Jesus, 2 Cor. 11.

It lesseneth not a rebellion, on that it is in a multitude: hence a citie in Israel idolatrous was to be destroyed.

Obstinacie that casteth out, will keep out from communion with the Lord Jesus in his Church.

The Church of Corinth, & every true Church separate from Idols as a chaste virgin to Christ.

CHAP. XVII.

Mr. Cotton proceeds to answer some other allegations which [30] I produced from the confession of sinne made by *Iohns* Disciples, and the Profelitte Gentiles before they were admitted into Church fellowship, *Mat. 3. 6. Acts 19. 18.* Unto which he returneth a 3 fold answer: The first is grounded upon his apparent mistake of my words in a grant of mine, *viz.* Such a confession and renunciation is not absolutely necessary, if the substance of true repentance be discerned. Whence (saith he) according to your own confession, such persons as have the substance of true Repentance may be a true Church.

I answer, it is cleare in the progresse of the whole contraverſie, that I ever intend by the substance of true Repentance, not that generall grace of Repentance, which all Gods people have (as *Luther* a Monk, and going to, yea publishing the German Masse, and those famous Bishops burnt for Christ in *Qu. Maries* dayes) but that substance of Repentance for those false wayes of Worship, Church, Ministry, &c. in which Gods people have lived, although the confessing and renouncing of them be not so particularly exprest, and with such godly sorrow and indignation as some expresse, and may well become: And indeed the whole scope of that caution was for Christian moderation, and gentlenes toward the severall sorts of Gods people, professing particular repentance for their spirituall captivity and bondage, during which captivitie also I readily acknowledge the substance of repentance, and of all the graces of Christ in generall.

The substance of true generall repentance in all Gods children, though living in many grosse abominations of false worship, Ministry, &c

Not the same measure and degrees of repentance in all.

In his second Answer Mr. *Cotton* saith, I grant *Mr. Cotton.* with the one hand, and take away with the other, for he denies it necessary to the admission of members, that every one should be convinced of the sinfullnes of every sipping of the Whores cup, for (saith he) every sipping of a drunkards cup is not sinfull.

Ans. First he doth not rightly aledge my words, for a little before he confesseth, my words to be that Antichristian drunkennesse and whoredome is to be confest of all such as have drunk of the Whores cup, or but sipt of it. In which words I plainly distinguish between such as have drunk deeper of her cup, as Papiſts, Popish Priests, &c. and such as in comparison have but sipt, as Gods'own people, who yet by such sipping have been so intoxicated, as to practise spirituall whoredome against Christ in submitting to false Churches, Ministrie, Worship, &c. 31] Secondly, whereas he saith every sipping of a drunkards cup is not sinfull.

I answer: neither the least sipping, nor constant drinking out of the cup which a drunkard useth to drinke in, is sinfull: but every drunken sip (which is our question) is questionlesse sinfull, and so consequently to be avoyded by the sober, whether the cup of corporall or spirituall drunkennes.

CHAP. XVIII.

Mr. *Cotton.* Yea but (saith he) the 3000. Jewes *Mr. Cotton.* were admitted when they repented of their murdering of Christ, although they never saw all the superstitious leavenings wherwith the Pharisees had

bewitched them : and so no doubt may godly persons now, although they be not yet convinced of every passage of Antichristian superstition, &c. and that upon this ground, that spirituall whoredome and drunkenesse is not so soon discerned as corporall.

I answer, it is not indeed so easily discerned, and yet not the lesse sinfull, but infinitely transcendent, as much as spirituall sobriety exceeds corporall, and the bed of the most high God, exceeds the beds of men, who are but dust and ashes.

*The first
Christians
the best pat-
tern for all
Christians
now.*

Secondly, I answere the converted Jews although they saw not all the leavenings of the Pharises, yet they mourned for killing of Christ, and embraced him in his Worship Ministry, Government, and were added to his Church : and O that the least beames of light and sparkles of heat were in mine owne, and others foules, which were kindled by the holy Spirit of God in those famous converts at the preaching of *Peter, Acts 2.* The true Christ now in his Worship, Ministrie, &c. being discerned and repentance for persecuting and killing of him, being exprest, there necessarily follows a withdrawing from the Church, Ministry and Worship of the false Christ, and submission unto the true : and this is the summe and substance of our contraverfie.

*The power of
true repen-
tance for kil-
ling of Christ*

Mr. Cotton. Concerning the confession of finnes unto *Iohn*, he grants the Disciples of *Iohn* confest their sins, the Publicans theirs, the Souldiers theirs, the people theirs, but saith he, it appears not that they confest their Pharisaicall pollution.

And concerning the confession *Acts* 19. 18. he saith it is not exprest that they confest all their deeds.

Ans. If both these confest their notorious sins, (as Mr. *Cotton* [32] expresth) why not as well their notorious finnes against God, their Idolatries, Superstitious Worshipps, &c. Surely throughout the whole Scripture, the matters of God, and his Worship are first and most tenderly handled; his people are ever described by the title of his Worshippers, and his enemies by the title of Worshippers of false gods, and worshipping the *true* after a false manner; and to prove this were to bring forth a candle to the bright shining of the Sun at noon day.

CHAP. XIX.

His third answer is: But to satisfie you more *Mr. Cotton.* fully (and the Lord make you willing in true meeknesse of Spirit to receive satisfaction) the body of the members doe in generall professe, that the reason of their coming over to us was, that they might be freed from the bondage of humane Inventions and Ordinances, as their soules groaned under, for which al so they professe their hearty sorrow, so farre as through ignorance or infirmitie they have bin defiled. Beside, in our daily meetings, and specially in the times of our solemne Humiliations, we generally all of us bewaile all our former pollutions, wherewith we have defiled our selves and the holy things of God, in our former administrations and communions: but we rather choose to doe it then talke of it; and we can but wonder how you can

fo boldly and refolutely renounce all the Churches of God, for neglect of that which you know not whether they have neglected or no, and before you have admonished us of our finfullnes in fuch neglect, if it be found amongft us.

Answer. I answer (with humble desires to the Father of Lights, for the true meeknes and wifdome of his Spirit) here is mention of humane Inventions and Ordinances, and defiling themfelves and holy things of God in former Administrations, and Communionions, and yet no mention what fuch Inventions and Ordinances, what fuch Administrations and Communionions were: We rather choofe to doe it (faith he) then to talke of it, which makes me call to mind, an expreffion of an eminent and worthy perfon amongft them in a folemne conference, *viz.* *What need we fpeake of Antichrift, can we not enjoy our liberties without inveighing againft Antichrift? &c.*

How can a foule truly oppofe Antichrift, that endures not to have his name questioned.

The truth is, I acknowledge their witnes againft Ceremonies and Bifhops, but that yet they fee not the evill of a Nationall Church (notwithftanding they conftitute only particular [33] and independant) let their conftant praftice fpeake, in ftill joyning with fuch Churches and Minifters in the Ordinances of the Word and Prayer, and their Perfecuting of my felfe for my humble and faithfull, and conftant admonifhing of them,²³ of fuch unclean

²³ "It is one notable falfehood to fay that he did conftantly admonifh either our Elders or churches of fuch an offence; much leffe humbly and faithfully. If he did fo admonifh us, where are his witneffes? His letters? His meffengers

sent to us? Befides it is another falfehood, and no leffe palpable, that we did perfecute him for fuch admonifhing of us. It hath been declared above, upon what grounds the fentence of his banifhment did proceed; whereof this admonition

walking between a particular Church (which they only professe to be Christs) and a Nationall, which Mr. Cotton professeth to separate from.²⁴

But how could I possibly be ignorant, (as he seemeth to charge me) of their state, when being from first to last in fellowship with them, an Officer amongst them, had private and publike agitations concerning their state and condition, with all or most of their Ministers, and at last suffred for such admonitions to them, the miserie of a Winters Banishment amongst the Barbarians: and yet saith he, You know not what you have done, neither have you admonished us of our sinfullnes.

*Mr. Cotton
witnessing a-
gainst a nati-
onall Church
and yet hold-
ing fellowship
with it.*

*Impossible for
the answerer
to be ignorant
of their
Church estate
as Mr. Cotton
pretendeth.*

CHAP. XX.

Mr. Cotton. A third Scripture which I produced was *Haggai* 2. 13, 14, 15. desiring that the place might be thoroughly weighed, and that the Lord might please to hold the scales himselfe, the Prophet there telling the Church of the Jewes, *that if a person unclean by a dead body touch holy things, those holy things become uncleane unto them*; and so saith he is this Nation, and so is every work of their hands and that which they offer is uncleane: whence I infer'd, that even Church Covenants made, and Ordinances practiced by persons polluted through spirituall deadnes, and filthines of Communion, such

Mr. Cotton.

(which he pretendeth) was none of them; neither did they persecute him at all, who did so proceed against him." Cotton's Answer, p. 101.

²⁴ "Our joyning with the ministers of

England in hearing of the word and prayer doth not argue our Church communion with the parish churches in England, much lesse with the nationall Church." Cotton's Answer, p. 101.

Covenants and Ordinances become unclean unto them, and are prophaned by them.

Mr. *Cotton* answers, Your purpose was to prove that Churches cannot be constituted by such persons as are unclean by Antichristian pollutions, or if they be so constituted they are not to be communicated with, but separated from: But the Prophet acknowledgeth the whole Church of the Jews to be unclean, and yet neither denies them to be a Church truly constituted, nor stirs up himselfe or others to separate from them.

Anf. I acknowledge the true constitution of the Church of the Jews, and affirm that this their true constitution was the reason why they were not to be separated from: for being [34] a Nationall Church, ceremoniall and typicall their Excommunication was either putting to death in, or captivitie out of that ceremoniall *Canaan*. Hence *Salmanassars* carrying the 10 Tribes captive out of this Land, is said to be the casting of them out of Gods sight, 2 *Kings* 17. which was their Excommunication.

The Church of the Jewes a Nationall Church truly constituted, therefore not to bee separated from.

Death and captivity in the nationall church typed out spiritual death & captivity in the particular.

Accordingly in the particular Christian Churches, Christ Jesus cuts off by spirituall death, which is Excommunication, or for want of due execution of Justice by that Ordinance in his Kingdome, he sells the Church into spirituall captivitie, to confused (Babylonish) Lords, and Worships, and so drives them out of his sight.

Now from the consequent of this place in *Haggai*, mine argument stands good; and Mr. *Cotton* here acknowledgeth it, that *holy things* may be all uncleane to Gods people, when they lie in their uncleannes,

as this people did. Those Scriptures, *Levit. 16. & Ceremoniall Numbers 19.* which discourse of typicall and Cere-^{uncleannesse}moniall uncleanesse, he acknowledgeth to type out ^{in the natio-}in the Gospel the Morall uncleannes either of *dead* ^{nall Church}*works, Ephes. 5. 11. or dead persons, 2 Cor. 6. 14. or* ^{typed out mo-}*dead world, Gal. 6. 14.* and in this place of *Haggai,* ^{rall unclean-}^{esse in the}^{particular.} he acknowledges that Gods people, Prince and people, were defiled by worldlines, in which condition (saith he) their oblations, their bodily labours, were all uncleane, and found neither acceptance nor blessing from the Lord.

Therefore saith he afterward: In the Church godly Christians themselves, while they attend to the world more then to the things of God, are uncleane in the sight of God: therefore the Church cannot be constituted of such; or if it be constitute of such, the people of God must separate from them. And lastly, he saith, the Church of Christ and members thereof must separate themselves from their hypocrisie, and worldlines, els they and their duties will be unclean in the sight of God, notwithstanding their Church estate.

Ans. What have I more spoken then Mr. Cotton himselfe hath uttered in this his explication and application of this Scripture? As

First, that godly persons may become defiled and unclean by hypocrisie and worldlines.

Secondly, while they lie in such a condition of uncleannes [35] all their offerings, persons, labours ^{Mr. Cottons}are unclean in the sight of God, and have neither ^{own confessi-}acceptance nor blessing from him: but they and ^{on concerning}^{unclean wor-}

ships even of their duties are unclean in his sight, notwithstanding
godly persons. ing their Church estate.

Thirdly, the Church of Christ cannot be constituted of such godly persons, when defiled with such worldlineffe.

Fourthly, the Church consisting of such worldly persons (though otherwise godly and Christian) the people of God must separate from them.

*Inferences
from Master
Cottons grant.*

These are Mr. Cottons owne expresse words which justifye :

First my former distinction of godly persons in their personall respect, between God and themselves; and yet becoming ungodly in their outward defilements.

Secondly, they justifye my assertion of a necessitie of cleansing from Antichristian filthines and communions with dead works, dead worships, dead persons in Gods worship, if the touches of the dead world, or immoderate love of it doe so defile, as Mr. Cotton here affirmeth.

Thirdly, if (as he saith) the Church cannot be constituted of such godly persons as are defiled by immoderate love of the world, much lesse can it be constituted of godly persons defiled with the dead Inventions, Worships Communions of *unregenerate* and ungodly persons.

Fourthly, he justifies a separation from such Churches, if so constituted, or so constituting, because though worldlines be Adulterie against God, *James 4.* yet not comparable to spirituall Adultery of a false bed of Worship, Ministrie, &c.

CHAP. XXI.

Mr. *Cotton* proceedeth. The second stumbling block or offence which you have taken at the way of these Churches, is that you conceive us to walk between Christ and Antichrist. First in practising separation here, and not repenting of our preaching and Printing against it in our own Countrey. Secondly, in reproaching your selfe at *Salem*, and others for separation. Thirdly in particular, that my selfe have conceived and spoken, that separation is a way that God hath not prospered: yet say you, the truth of the Churches way depends not upon the countenance of men, or upon outward peace and liberty.

Unto this he answers, that they halt not, but walke in the [36] mid'st of 2 extreames, the one of being defiled with the pollution of other Churches, the other of renouncing the Churches for the remnant of Pollutions.

This moderation he (with ingenuous moderation) professeth he sees no cause to repent of, &c.

Ans. With the Lords gracious assistance, we shall prove this middle walking to be no lesse then halting, for which we shall shew cause of repentance, beseeching him that is a Prince and a Saviour to give repentance unto his *Israel*, *Acts*, 5. 3.

First Mr. *Cotton* himselfe confesseth, that no Nationall, Provinciaall, Diocesane, or Parish Church (wherin some truly godly are not) are true Churches. Secondly, he practiseth no Church estate, but such as is constituted only of godly persons, nor admit-

teth any unregenerate or ungodly person.²⁵ Thirdly, he confesseth a Church of Christ cannot be constituted of such godly persons, who are in bondage to the inordinate love of the world. Fourthly, if a Church consist of such, Gods people ought to separate from them.

Mr. Cotton extenuates & minceth the roote, masse and substance of the matter of national churches, which he acknowledgeth to be unregenerate, not yet born again, by naming only a remnant of pollutions.

The estate of the godly mingled with the ungodly in worships.

Upon these his owne confessions, I earnestly beseech Mr. Cotton and all that feare God to ponder how he can say he walks with an even foot between 2 extreames, when according to his own confession, Nationall Churches, Parish Churches, yea a Church constituted of godly persons given to inordinate love of the world, are false and to be separated from: and yet he will not have the Parish Church to be separated from, for the remnant of pollution (I conceive he meaneth ceremonies & Bishops) notwithstanding that he also acknowledgeth, that the generality of every Parish in England consisteth of unregenerate persons, and of thousands inbondaged, not only to worldlines, but also ignorance, superstition, scoffing, swearing, cursing, whoredome, drunkenesse, theft, lying. What are 2. or 3. or more of regenerate and godly persons in such communions, but as 2 or 3 Roses or Lillies in a wildernesse? a few grains of good corne in a heap of chaffe? a few sheep among heards of Wolves or Swine, or (if more civill) flocks of Goats? a little good dough swallowed up with a whole bushell of leaven? or a little precious gold confounded and

²⁵ "And sure I am, we looke at infants that all of them are regenerate, or truly as members of our Church, (as being godly." Cotton's Answer, p. 108. fœdurally holy) but I am slow to beleewe

mingled with a whole heap of droffe? The Searcher of all Hearts knowes I write not this to reproach any, knowing that my selfe am by nature *a child of wrath*, and that the *father of mercies* shews mercy 37] to *whom* and *when* he will: but for the Name of Christ Jesus, in *loving faithfullnes* to my Countrymens soules, and *defence of truth*, I remember my worthy adversary of that state and condition, from which his confessions say he must separate, his practise in gathering of Churches seemes to say he doth separate; and yet he professeth there are but some remnants of pollution amongst them for which he dares not separate.²⁶

The state of men must be faithfully discovered unto them.

CHAP. XXII.

Mr. *Cotton*. Secondly (saith he) I know no man that reproacheth *Salem* for their separation, nor doe I beleve that they doe separate, howsoever if any do reproach them for it, I think it a sin meet to be censured, but not with so deep a censure as to Excommunicate all the *Churches*, or to separate from them before it doe appeare that they doe tolerate their members in such their causeles reproachings: We confesse the errors of men are to be con-

²⁶ "For he knoweth we wholly avoyde nationall, provinciall, and diocesan government of the churches by Episcopall authority. He knoweth also we avoyde their prescript liturgies, and communion with openly scandalous persons in any church order. He knoweth likewise, (or at least may know) that it is a continuall sorrow of heart, and a mourning of our soules, that there is yet so much of

those notorious evils (which he nameth) still continuing in the parishes, worldliness, ignorance, superstition, scoffing, swearing, cursing, whoredome, drunkenness, theft, lying, I may adde also murder, and malignity against the godly, suffered to thrust themselves into the fellowship of the churches, and to sit downe with the Saints at the Lord's table." *Cotton's Answer*, p. 109.

tended against, not with reproaches, but the Sword of the Spirit: but on the other side, the faylings of the Churches are not forthwith to be healed by separation. It is not chyrurgery but butcherie to heale every fore in a member with no other but abscision from the body.

Ans. The Church of *Salem* was known to profes separation, and was generally and publikely reproached (and I could mencion a case wherin she was punished) for it implicitly.²⁷

Mr. Cotton (I leave to himselfe to reconcile, with his former profession here and elsewhere against separation. Firft (saith he) if any reproach them for separation it is a sin meet to be censured. Secondly, the Churches themselves may be separated from, who tolerate their members in such causeles reproachings. In these later passages he seems (as in other his confessions and practises mentioned) to be for it, sensible of shame, disgrace or reproach to be cast on it.

Mr. Cottons I grant with him the failings of Churches are not
own confes- forthwith to be healed by separation, yet himself
sions are suf- within a few lines confesseth there is a lawfull sep-
ficient an- aration from Churches, that doe but tolerate their
swers to him- members in causeles reproaches.
selfe.

I confesse also that it is not chyrurgerie but butcherie, to heale every fore with no other medicine but

²⁷ Mr. Williams probably refers to the refusal by the General Court to listen to a petition from Salem relative to some land in Marblehead Neck which was claimed as belonging to that town. But according to Winthrop, "because they

had chosen Mr. Williams their teacher, while he stood under question of authority and so offered contempt to the magistrates, &c. their petition was refused." The land in question was granted to Salem after Mr. Williams was banished. Knowles, p. 70.

with abscision from the body: yet himsele confesseth before, that even Churches of godly persons must be separated from, for immoderate [38] world-Not for a sore of infirmity, but a leprosie or gangrene of obstinacie ought a person to be cut off. lines: And again here he confesseth they may be separated from, when they tolerate their members in such their causeles reproachings. Beside, it is not every fore of infirmitie or ignorance, but an Ulcer or Gangrene of Obstinacy, for which I maintained that a person ought to be cut off, or a Church separated from. But if he call that butcherie, conscienciously and peaceably to separate from a spirituall communion of a Church or societie, what shall it be called by the second *Adam* the Lord Jesus (who gives names to all creatures and all actions) to cut off persons, them and theirs, branch and root, from any civill being in their territories; and consequently from the whole world (were their territories so large) because their consciences dare not bow down to any worship, but what they beleve the Lord Jesus appointed, and being also otherwise subject to the civill state and Laws thereof.²⁸Mr. Cotton deeply guilty of cruelty both against consciences and bodies in persecuting of them, yet cries out against the appearance of due severitie in the Church of Christ.

CHAP. XXIII.

Thirdly, wheras I urged a speech of his own, *viz.* that God had not prospered the way of separation, and conceives that I understood him of outward prosperitie. He affirms the Puritans to have been

²⁸ "His banishment proceeded not against him or his for his own refusall of any worship, but for seditious opposition against the Patent, and against the oath of fidelity offered to the people;" * * * he "also wrote letters of admonition to all the churches, whereof the magistrates were members, for deferring to give present answer to a petition of Salem, who had refused to harken to a lawfull motion of theirs." Cotton's Answer, p. 113.

worfe used in *England* then the Separatist, & thus writes: The meeting of the Separatists may be known to the Officers in Court and winked at, when the Conventicles of the Puritans (as they call them) shall be hunted out with all diligence, and pursued with more violence then any Law can justifie,

Gods contro- versie for per- secution.
Ans. Doubtles the contraverſie of God hath bin great with this Land, that either of both have been ſo violently pursued and persecuted: I beleeve they are both the Witnesſes of severall truths of Jesus Christ, against an impenitent and unchristian profession of the name of the Lord Jesus.

The sufferings of the Separatists and Puritans in England compared.
Mr. Vdall. Now for their sufferings: As the Puritans have not comparably suffred, (as but seldome congregating in separate assemblies from the common) so have not any of them suffred unto death for the way of Non-conformitie to Ceremonies, &c. Indeed the worthy witnes *Mr. Vdall*²⁹ was neere unto death for his witnes against Bishops and Ceremonies: but *Mr. Penry*, *Mr. Barrow*, *Mr. Greenwood*³⁰ followed

²⁹ John Udal, an eminent nonconformist divine of the sixteenth century. He had been frequently silenced and imprisoned, and at last was condemned to die for writing a book entitled "The Demonstration of Discipline." His death occurred while in confinement, in the latter part of the year 1592. Hopkins's "Puritans and Queen Elizabeth." Underhill states that Udal had been a Tutor to Queen Elizabeth in the learned languages, but we find no mention of this fact by Hopkins, or by Strype in his "Annals."

³⁰ Udal, Penry, Barrow and Greenwood had been fellow Collegians at Cambridge University, and they were very intimate

friends. Penry became the chief manager of a Puritan press. Barrow was the leader of the Independents or Brownists, likewise called after him, Barrowists. "Between the years 1580 and 1593," says Underhill, "the Brownists multiplied greatly; so much so, that Sir Walter Raleigh stated in the House of Commons, perhaps somewhat at random, that there were not less than twenty thousand of them. They were divided into several congregations in Norfolk, Essex, and London. Mr. Henry Barrow and Mr. John Greenwood, were at this time two of their most eminent ministers. In 1586, they were summoned before Arch-

the Lord Jesus with their Gibbets on their shoulders, and were hanged with him and for him, in the way of separation: many more have been condemned to die, banished and choaked in prisons, I could produce upon occasion.

39] Again, I beleeve that there hardly hath ever been a conscientious Separatist, who was not first a Puritan: for (as Mr. *Can* hath unanswerably proved)³¹ the grounds and principles of the Puritans against Bishops and Ceremonies, and prophanes of people professing Christ, and the necessitie of Christs flock and discipline, must necessarily, if truely followed, lead on to, and inforce a separation from such wayes, worships, and Worshippers, to seek out the true way of Gods worship according to Christ Jesus.

But what should be the reason, (since the separatist witnesseth against the root of the Church constitution it selfe, that yet he should find (as Mr. *Cotton* saith) more favour then the Puritan or Non-conformist?

Doubtles the reasons are evident: First most of Gods servants who out of sight of the ignorance,

bishop Whitgift. For a time releas'd on bond, they continued their zealous labors, and were again committed to the Fleet in 1588. After suffering much injustice and cruelty, during five years confinement in gaol, they were executed at Tyburn, in the year 1593. About six weeks after, Mr. John Penry, for the same crime, forfeited his life upon the scaffold. The fidelity and loyalty to the queen of these sufferers for cause of conscience are beyond all question; their ignominious deaths were a sacrifice to the unholy zeal of prelates, whom worldly

policy and power had blinded to the true nature of the Kingdom of Christ." Historical Introduction to "The Broadmead Records." p. xxxviii.

³¹ In "A Necessitie of Separation from the Church of England proved by the Nonconformists' Principles," &c. "By John Canne, Pastor of the Ancient English Church in Amsterdam," 1634, 4to. pp. 264. This important work was published in 1849 by the Hanserd Knollys Society. The author had been a minister in the Established Church, and was a man of varied and extensive learning.

the lower sort of people. unbelieve and prophanes of the body of the Nationall Church, have separated and durst not have longer fellowship with it; I say most of them have been poore and low, and not such gainfull customers to the Bishops, their Courts and Officers.

The poverty of Mr. Ainsworth. That worthy instrument of Christs praise Mr. *Ainsworth*,³² during some time (and some time of his great labours in *Holland*) lived upon 9. d. *per week* with roots boiled, &c. Whereas on the other side such of Gods servants as have been Non-conformists have had faire estates, been great persons, have had rich livings and benefices, of which the Bishops and theirs (like greedie Wolves) have made the more desirable prey.

The Separatists have been professed enemies, but the Puritans in many things professed friends & subjects to the Bishops. Secondly, it is a principle in nature to preferre a professed enemy, before a pretended friend. Such as have separated, have been lookt at by the Bishops and theirs, as known and professed enemies: whereas the Puritans profest subjection, and have submitted to the Bishops, their Courts, their Officers, their Common Prayer and Worships, and yet (as the Bishops have well known) with no greater affection, then the Israelites bare their Egyptian cruel Task-masters.

Mr. Cotton. He faith, God hath not prospered the way of Separation with peace amongst themselves and growth of Grace.

³² Henry Ainsworth, the most eminent of the Brownists, and the author of a very learned Commentary on the Pentateuch and Canticles, and also of Annotations on the Psalms. He joined the Brownists in 1590, and shared in their persecutions. In the earlier part of his exile, in common with Johnson and the other Separatists, he was exposed to great pecuniary straits and difficulties. He died in 1622.

Anf. The want of peace may befall the truest Churches of the Lord Jesus at *Antioch, Corinth, Galatia*, who were exercised with great distractions. Secondly, it is a common character of a false Church, maintained by the Smiths and Cutlers Shop, [40] to enjoy a quiet calme and peaceable tranquility, none daring for feare of civill punishment, to question, object, or differ from the common roade and custome. Thus sings that great Whore the Antichristian Church, *Revel. 18, I sit as a Queen, am no Widow, see no sorrow, while Christs dearest complaines, she is forsaken, sits weeping as a Widow, Lam. 1.* Thirdly, Gods people in that way, have sometimes long enjoyed sweet peace and fowl contentment in *England, Holland, New England*, and other places, and would not have exchanged a day of such an holy and peaceable harmonie for thousands in the Courts of Princes, seeing no other, and in sinceritie seeking after the Lord Jesus. And yet I humbly conceive, that as *David* with the Princes and 30 thousand *Israelites*, carrying the Ark on the shoulders of the Oxen, leaped and danced with great rejoicing, untill God smote *Vzzab* for his Error and Disorder, and made a breach, and a teaching Monument of *Perez Vzzab*, the breach of *Vzzab*: So in like manner all those celebrations of the spirituall Arke or Ordinances, which yet I have know, although for the present accompanied with great rejoicing and tryumphing; yet, as they have not been after the Due Order, so have they all met with and still must a *Perez Vzzab*, breaches and Divisions, untill the Lord Jesus discover, direct and encourage

A false church may enforce a present greater (though false grace) then the true Spouse of Christ Jesus.

Gods people have found infinit sweetnes and peace in some times of their holy communion. Breaches have been and must be among all Gods people to make them celebrate the Lords holy ordinances according to due order.

his servants in his own *due holy Order* and appointment. And for growth in Grace, notwithstanding that amongst all sorts of Gods Witnesse, some false brethren creep in as cheaters and spies, and Judasses, dishonouring the name of Christ Jesus, and betraying his Witnesse: yet Sathan himselfe the accuser of the Saints, cannot but confesse that multitudes of Gods Witnesse (reproached with the names of Brownists, and Anabaptists) have kept themselves from the error of the wicked, and grow in grace and knowledge of the Lord Jesus, endeavouring to *cleane themselves from all filthines both of flesh and spirit, and to finish holines in the feare of God.* I will not make odious and envious comparifons, but desire that all that *name the name of the Lord Iesus may depart wholly and for ever from iniquity.*

*Many grace-
lesse Iudasses
amongst Gods
people.*

*Multitudes of
gracious and
holy persons
that have
professed Se-
peration*

CHAP. XXIIII.

M. Cotton, Lastly he addeth, That such as erring through simplicitie and tendernes, have grown in grace, have grown also to discern their lawfull liberty in the hearing of the Word from English preachers.³³

41] Ans. I will not question the uprightnes of some, who have gone back from many truths of God which they have professed: yet mine own experience of 4 sorts who have backliden, I shall report, for a warning to all into whose hands these may

*Four sorts of
back-sliders
from Separation
far from
growth in
grace.*

³³ "This I speak with respect to Mr. Robinson, and to his church, who, as he grew to many excellent gifts both of grace and nature, so he grew to acknowledge, and in a judicious and godly dif-

course to approve and defend, the lawfull liberty of hearing the word from the godly preachers of the parishes in England." Cotton's Answer, p. 123.

come, to be like *Antipas* (*Revel. 2.*) a *faithfull witnessse* to the death, to any of the truths of the Lord Jesus, which he shall please to be trust them with:

First I have known no small number of such torn *Some back-sliding turn to Familisme.* to absolute Familisme, and under their pretences of great raptures of Love, deny all obedience to, or seeking after the pure Ordinances and appointments of the Lord Jesus.

Secondly, others have laid the raines upon the necks of their consciences, and like the Dog, lickt up their vomit of former loosnes and prophanes of lip and life; and have been so farre from growing in grace, that they have turned the grace of God into wantonnes. *Some to prophane.*

Thirdly, others backsliding have lost the beautie and shining of a tender conscience toward God, and of a mercifull compassion toward men, becomming most fierce persecutors of their own formerly fellow witnessses, and of any other who have differed in conscience from them. *Some to persecuting of others.*

Lastly, others although preserved from Familisme, prophanes and persecuting of others, yet the lease of their Christian course hath withered, the later beautie and favour of their holines hath not been like their former; and they have confest & do, their sin, their weaknes, their bondage, and wish they were at liberty in their former freedom: and some have gone with little peace, but sorrow to their graves, confessing to my selfe and others, *that God never prospered them in soule or body, since they sold away his truth, which once they had bought and made profession of it never to sell it.* *Some te languishing in sorrow and sadnesse, &c.*

CHAP. XXV.

Mr. Cotton. Yea but (saith he) they have grown to discern their lawfull libertie, to return to the hearing of the Word from English preachers.

Ans. Here I might ingage my selfe in a contravertie, which neither this Treatise will permit; nor is there need, since it hath pleased the Father of lights to stirre up the spirit of a faithfull Witnes of his truth in this particular, *Mr. Cann*, to make a large and faithfull reply to a Book, Printed in *Mr. Robinsons* name, tending to prove such a lawfull Liberty.³⁴

*Mr. Cans
answer to
Mr. Robin-
sons Liberty
of hearing.*

*Mr Cottons
confession
concerning
the ministry.*

For such excellent and worthy persons whom *Mr. Cotton* here intends by the name of English preachers, I acknowledge my selfe unworthy to hold the candle to them: yet I shall humbly present what *Mr. Cotton* himselfe professeth in 3 particulars:

First concerning this title English preachers.

Secondly, hearing the Word from such English preachers.

Thirdly, the lawfull calling of such to the Ministry or service, according to Christ Jesus.

For the first he acknowledgeth, that the ordinarie Ministers of the Gospel are Pastors, Teachers, Bishops, Overseers, Elders, and that their proper worke is to feed and govern, a truly converted, holy and godly people, gathered into a flock or Church estate,

ποιόμενος,
διδασκαλοί,
ἐπισκοποί,
πρεσβυτε-
ροί.

³⁴ *Mr. Robinson's* book was published nine years after his death. It was entitled "Of the Lawfulness of Hearing of the Ministers in the Church of England: penned by that Learned and Reverend

Divine, *Mr. John Robinson*, late Pastor to the English Church of God in Leyden, and Printed Anno 1634." *Mr. Canne's* work in reply was entitled "A Stay against Straying." 4to. 1639.

and not properly preachers to convert, beget, make Disciples, which the Apostles and Evangelists professedly were. Now then that man that professeth himselfe a Minister, and professeth to feed a Flock or Church, with the Ordinances of Word and Prayer, he must needs acknowledge that his proper worke is not to preach for conversion, which is most preposterous amongst a converted Christian people, fed up with Ordinances in Church estate: So that according to Mr. *Cottons* confession English preachers are, not Pastors, Teachers, Bishops, Elders, but preachers of glad news (Evangelists) men sent to convert and gather Churches (Apostles) embassadors, trumpeters with Proclamation from the King of Kings, to convert, subdue, bring in rebellious unconverted, unbelieving, unchristian soules to the obedience and subjection of the Lord Jesus.

I readily confesse that at the Pastors (or Shepherds) feeding of his flock, and the Prophets prophesying in the Church, an unbeliever coming in is convinced, falls on his face and acknowledgeth God to be there: yet this is accidentall that any unbeliever should come in; and the Pastors worke is to feed his Flock, *Acts* 20. and prophesie is not for unbeevers, but for them that beleeve, to edesie, exhort and comfort the Church, *1 Cor.* 14. 3. 22.

I also readily acknowledge that it hath pleased God to work a personall repentance in the hearts of thousands in *Germanie, England, Low Countries, France, Scotland, Ireland, &c.* Yea and [43] who knows but in *Italy, Spain, Rome*, not only by such men, who decline the name of Bishops, Priests,

Matth. 28.
μαθητεύειν

*Preachers
and Pastor
farre dif-
ferent.*

*Conversion
in a Church
accidentall.*

*Personall
repentance
wrought in
thousands by
godly persons
in Popish
ministries.*

Deacons (the constituted Ministry of *England* hitherto) but also by such as have owned them, as *Luther* remaining a Monke, and famous holy men remaining and burning Lord Bishops. But all this hath been under the notion of Ministers feeding their flocks, not of preachers sent to convert the unconverted and unbeleeving.

To preach mainly for conversion of that people, to whom a man stands Shepheard as to a converted people and Flock of Christ, a dangerous disorder.

This passage I present for 2 Reasons: First because so many excellent and worthy persons mainly preach for conversion, as conceiving (and that truly) the body of the people of *England* to be in a naturall and unregenerate estate: and yet account they themselves fixed and constant Officers and Ministers to particular Parishes or congregations, unto whom they also administer the holy things of God, though sometimes few, and sometimes none regenerate or new borne have been found amongst them: which is a matter of high concernment touching the Name of the Lord Jesus Christ, and the soules of men. Secondly, that in these great Earthquakes, wherein it pleaseth God to shake foundations, civill and spirituall, such a Ministry of Christ Jesus may be sought after, whose proper worke is preaching, for converting and gathering of true penitents to the fellowship of the Son of God.

Gods people must seeke after a ministry sent by Christ to convert.

CHAP. XXVI.

Mr. Cotton. The second thing which *Mr. Cotton* himselfe hath profest concerning English preachers is, that although the Word, yet not the Seales may be received from them: because (saith he) there is no

communion in hearing, and the Word is to be preached to All, but the seales he conceives (and that rightly) are prophaned in being dispensed to the ungodly, &c.

Ans. Mr. Cotton himselfe maintaineth, that the dispensing of the Word in a Church estate, is Christs feeding of his flock *Cant.* 1. 8. Christs kissing of his Spouse or Wife, *Cant.* 1. 2. Christs embracing of his Spouse in the mariage bed, *Cant.* 1. 16. Christs nursing of his children at his wives breast, *Cant.* 4. and is there no communion between the Shepheard and his Sheep? the Husband and his Wife in chaste kisses and embraces, and the Mother and her Child at the breast?

The communion or fellowship of the word taught in a Church estate.

Beside he confesseth, that that Fellowship in the Gospel, *Phil.* 1. 3. is a fellowship or communion in the Apostles doctrine, communitie, breaking of bread, and prayer, in which [44] the first Church continued, *Acts* 2 46. All which overthrowes that Doctrine of a lawfull participation of the Word and Prayer in a Church estate, where it is not lawfull to communicate in the breaking of bread or seales.³⁵

CHAP. XXVII.

Thirdly concerning the lawfull Commission or calling of English preachers.

³⁵ "If this be all the conclusion he striveth for, that participation of the word and prayer is not lawfull in a church estate, where it is not lawfull to communicate in the seales, I shall never contend with him about it. But this is that

I deny, a man to participate in a church-estate, where he partaketh onely in hearing and prayer, before and after sermon; and joyneth not with them, neither in their covenant, nor in the seales of the covenant." Cotton's Answer, p. 129.

Eminent Ministers so accounted in old England, professeth themselves private Christians in new England. Mr. Cotton himselfe and others most eminent in New England have freely confest, that notwithstanding their former profession of Ministry in Old England, yet in New England (untill they receive a calling from a particular Church, that they were but private Christians.

Secondly, that Christ Jesus hath appointed no other calling to the Ministrie, but such as they practice in New England, and therefore consequently that all other which is not from a particular Congregation of godly persons, is none of Christs.³⁶

False callings or commissions for the Ministry.

As first a calling or commission received from the Bishops.

Secondly from a Parish of naturall and *unregenerate* persons.

Thirdly, from some few godly persons, yet remaining in Church fellowship after the Parish way.

Lastly, the eminent gifts and abilities are but Qualifications fitting and preparing for a call or Office, according to *1 Tim. 3. Tit. 1.* All which premises duly considered, I humbly desire of the Father of Lights, that Mr. Cotton, and all that feare God may try what will abide the fire triall in this *particular*, when the Lord Jesus shall be *revealed in flaming fire, &c.*

CHAP. XXVIII

M. Cotton. The close of his Lettet is an Answer to a passage of mine, which he repeateth in an Objection thus:

³⁶ "Wee are not so masterly and peremptory in our apprehensions; and yet (with submission) we conceive, the more plainly and exactly all church actions are

carried on according to the letter of the rule, the more glory shall we give unto the Lord Jesus, and procure the more peace to our consciences, and to our

But this you feare is to condemn the witnesses of Jesus (the Separate Churches in *London*, and elsewhere) and our jealous God will visit us for such arreages: yea the curse of the Angel to *Meros* will fall upon us, *because we come not forth to help Jehovah against the mighty*: we pray not for them, we come not at them (but at *Parishes* frequently) yea we reproach and censure them.

To which he answereth, that neither Christ nor his Apostles after him, nor Prophets before him ever delivered that way. That they feare not the Angels curse, because it is not to help *Jehovah* but Sathan, to withdraw people from the *Parishes* [45] where they have found more presence of Christ, and evidence of his Spirit then in separated Churches: That they pray not for them because they cannot pray in faith for a blessing upon their Separation: and that it is little comfort to heare of separate Churches, as being the inventions of men, and blames them that being desirous of Reformation, they stumble not only at the inventions of men, but for their sakes at the Ordinances of the Lord, because they separate not only from the *Parishes*, but from the Church at *Plymouth*, and of that wherof Mr. *Lathrop* was Pastor,³⁷ who (as he saith) not only refuse all the

churches, and reserve more purity and power to all our administrations." Cotton's Answer, p. 132.

³⁷ "There was a congregation of protestant Dissenters of the Independent persuasion in London, gathered in the year 1616, of which Mr. Henry Jacob was the first pastor; and after him succeeded Mr. John Lathrop, who was their min-

ister in 1633. In this Society several persons, finding that the congregation kept not to its first principles of separation, and being also convinced that baptism was not to be administered to infants but to such as professed faith in Christ, desired that they might be dismissed from that Communion, and allowed to form a distinct congregation in such order as

inventions of men, but choose to serve the Lord in his own Ordinances. Only, lastly he professeth his inward sorrow that my self helpe erring, though zealous soules against the mighty Ordinances of the Lord, which whosoever stumble at shall be broken, because whosoever will not kisse the Sonne (that is, will not heare and embrace the words of his mouth) shall perish in their way.

The garden of the churches of both old and new Testament, planted with an hedge or wall of separation from the world.

Ans. However Mr. Cotton beleeves and writes of this point, yet hath he not duly considered these following particulars :

First the faithfull labours of many Witnesses of *Iesus Christ*, extant to the world, abundantly proving, that the Church of the Jews under the Old Testament in the type, and the *Church* of the Christians under the New Testament in the Antitype, were both separate from the world ; and that when they have opened a gap in the hedge or wall of Separation between the Garden of the Church and the Wildernes of the world, God hath ever broke down the wall it selfe, removed the Candlestick, &c. and made his Garden a Wilderneffe, as at this day. And that therefore if he will ever please to restore his Garden and Paradiſe again, it must of necessitie be walled in peculiarly unto himselfe from the world, and that all that shall be saved out of the world are to be transplanted out of the Wildernes of world, and added unto his Church or Garden.

When Gods people neglect to maintain that hedge or wall, God hath turned his garden into a wilderneffe.

was most agreeable to their own sentiments." The foregoing extract, quoted from Wm. Riffin's manuscript by Ivimey, in his history of the English Baptists, gives the origin of the first Baptist Church in London, which it appears,

was constituted Sept. 12, 1633, under the pastoral care of John Spilisbury. This Separation of Baptists from Protestant Dissenters, is what Cotton doubtles refers to in his letter.

Secondly, that all the grounds and principles leading to oppose Bishops, Ceremonies, Common Prayer, prostitution of the Ordinances of Christ to the ungodly and to the true practise of Christs own Ordinances, doe necessarily (as before I intimated, and Mr. *Cann* hath fully proved) conclude a separation of holy from unholy, penitent from impenitent, godly from ungodly, &c. and that to frame any other building upon [46] such grounds and foundations, is no other then to raise the form of a square house upon the Keele of a Ship, which will never prove a soul saving true Arke or Church of Christ Jesus, according to the Patterne.

Thirdly the multitudes of holy and faithfull men and women, who since *Q. Maries* dayes have witnessed this truth by writing, disputing, and in suffering losse of *goods* and *friends*, in *imprisonments*, *banishments*, *death*, &c. I confesse the Nonconformists have suffred also: but they that have suffred for this cause, have farre exceeded, in not only witnessing to those grounds of the Non-conformists but to those Truths also, the unavoidable conclusions of the Non-conformists principles.

Fourthly, what is that which Mr. *Cotton* and so many hundreths fearing God in New *England* walk in, but a way of separation? Of what matter doe they professe to constitute their Churches, but of true godly persons? In what form doe they cast this matter, but by a *voluntary uniting*, or adding of such godly persons, whom they carefully examine, and cause to make a *publike confession* of *sinne*, and *profession* of their *knowledge*, and *grace* in Christ?

The Nonconformists grounds necessarily inforce a separation of the Church from the unclean in clean and holy things.

The great suffering for this cause.

Mr. Cottons and others zealous practice of separation in New England.

Nay, when other English have attempted to set up a Congregation after the Parishionall way, have they not been suppressed? Yea have they not professedly and lately answered many worthy persons, whom they account godly Ministers and people, that they could not permit them to live in the same Common-wealth together with them, if they set up any other Church and Worship then what themselves practise?³⁸ Let their own soules, and the soules of others seriously ponder in the feare of God, what should be the Reason why themselves so practising, should persecute others for not leaving open a gap of Liberty to escape *persecution* and the Crosse of Christ, by frequenting the Parishes in *Old England*, which Parishes themselves *persecute* in *New England*, and will not permit them to breath in the common aire amongst them.

Mr. Cotton allowing libertie to frequent those parishes in Old England: which parishes he himselfe persecutes in New England

Fifthly, in the Parishes (which Mr. Cotton holds but inventions of men)³⁹ however they would have liberty to frequent the Worship of the Word, yet they separate from the Sacraments: and yet according to Mr. Cottons own principles (as before) there

A great mystery in the escaping of the crosse of Christ.

³⁸ "Our practise in suppressing such as have attempted to set up a Parishionall way, I never heard of such a thing here to this day. And if any such thing were done, before my coming into the Countrey, I do not think it was done by forcible compulsion, but by rationall conviction." Cotton's Answer, p. 139. It is difficult to reconcile this disclaimer with facts.

³⁹ "It is an untruth, that Mr. Cotton holdeth the Parishes to be but inventions of men; for though I hold that the

receiving of all the inhabitants in the Parish into the full fellowship of the church, and the admitting of them all unto the liberty of all the ordinances, is an humane corruption, (and so if he will an humane invention;) yet I doe not hold, nor ever did, that their parishes were onely an humane invention. For I beleeve the Lord Jesus hath the truth of his churches, and ministry, and worship in them, notwithstanding the inventions of men superadded to them." Cotton's Answer, p. 140.

is as true Communion in the Ministration of the word in a Church estate, as in the seales: What mystery should be in this, but that here also the Crosse or Gibbet of Christ may [47] be avoyded in a great measure, if persons come to Church, &c.

Lastly, however he saith, *he hath not found such presence of Christ, and evidence of his Spirit in such Churches, as in the Parishes*: What should be the reason of their great rejoycings and boastings of their own Separations in New England, insomuch that some of the most eminent amongst them have affirmed, That even the Apostles Churches were not so pure? Surely if the same New English Churches were in Old England, they could not meet without Persecution, which therefore in Old England they ovoid, by frequenting the way of Church-worship (which in New England they Persecute) the Parishes.

Upon these considerations how can Mr. Cotton be offended that I should help (as he calls them) any zealous soules, not against the mighty Ordinances of the Lord Jesus, but to seek after the Lord Jesus without halting? Yea why should Mr. Cotton, or any desirous to practice Reformation, kindle a fire of Persecution against such zealous soules, especially considering that themselves, had they so inveighed against Bishops, Common Prayer, &c. in Edward the 6. his dayes had been accounted as great Hereticks, in those Reforming times, as any now can be in these: yet would it have been then, and since hath it been great oppression and Tyranny to persecute their consciences, and still will it be

The New English Churches pretended by some to be purer then the first established by the Apostles.

The reformation desired now had been accounted heresie in Ed. 6. his dayes.

for them to persecute the consciences of others in Old or New England.

Persecution is unjust oppression where soever. How can I better end then Mr. *Cotton* doth, by warning, that all that will not kisse the Son (that is, heare and embrace the words of his mouth) shall perish in their way, *Psal.* 2. 12. And I desire Mr. *Cotton* and every soule to whom these lines may come, feriously to consider, in this Contraverfie, if the Lord Jesus were himselfe in person in Old or New England, what Church, what Ministry, what Worship, what Government he would set up, and what persecution he would practice toward them that would not receive Him?

FINIS.



